

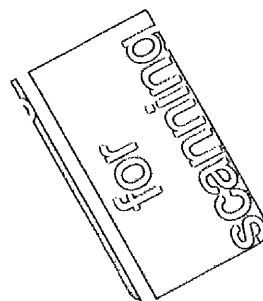
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Title of thesis Qing-style Porcelain in Meiji Japan :
..... The ceramic Art of Seifū Yohei III

..... Degree

Seifū Yohei III (1851-1914) was one of the leading ceramic artists of the Meiji period and highly acclaimed both in Japan and abroad during his lifetime. Being a literati-style painter and an unabashed Sinophile, Seifū created works that display the distinctive characteristics of Qing porcelain. The clientele for such works was an elite with similar predilections for Chinese-style wares, though patronage of his works extended even to the Imperial Household of Japan. A study of Seifū Yohei III demonstrates that Japanese ceramics cannot be discussed in terms of a linear, uniformly progressive development mirroring the Westernisation of Japan, as previous scholarship has often presented things. Seifū's career reveals the co-existence of what might normally be perceived as irreconcilable factors in terms of its regional, social, economic and cultural environments, often involving interaction with China.

This thesis presents the first detailed study of the life and work of Seifū Yohei III, in either English or Japanese. The multi-faceted character of this artist provides an opportunity to explore crucial issues concerning the transformation of Japanese art in general at the beginning of Japan's modern age. Each chapter takes up a different issue surrounding Seifū Yohei III in the context of the production and consumption of art in Meiji Japan. This interdisciplinary analysis of the life and work of Seifū Yohei III also sheds light on the social, economic and cultural factors affecting other potters of the Meiji era. It takes on previously neglected issues concerning what happened in the area of ceramic production inside Japan and, more broadly, in East Asia as a whole.



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Qing-style Porcelain in Meiji Japan

The Ceramic Art of Seifū Yohei III

Shinya MAEZAKI

**The School of Oriental and African Studies,
University of London, for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

Abstract

This thesis presents the first detailed study of the life and work of Seifū Yohei III, in either English or Japanese. Seifū Yohei III (1851-1914) was one of the leading ceramic artists of the Meiji period and highly acclaimed both in Japan and abroad during his lifetime. Being a literati-style painter and an unabashed Sinophile, Seifū created works that display the distinctive characteristics of Qing porcelain. The multi-faceted character of this artist provides an opportunity to explore crucial issues concerning the transformation of Japanese art in general at the beginning of Japan's modern age.

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Each chapter takes up a different issue surrounding Seifū Yohei III in the context of the production and consumption of art in Meiji Japan. This interdisciplinary analysis of the life and work of Seifū Yohei III also sheds light on the social, economic and cultural factors affecting other potters of the Meiji era. It takes on previously neglected issues concerning what happened in the area of ceramic production inside Japan and, more broadly, in East Asia as a whole.

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Notes to the Reader

Japanese names, except for individuals who have adopted Western style, are written with the family name first. Diacritical marks denoting long sounds in the Japanese language are omitted for familiar place names such as Tokyo, Kyoto, and Osaka.

All translations from Japanese and Chinese are by the author unless the source is stated.

The names of national museums, institutions and ministries listed below are in English. All the other names of Japanese museums and institutions are in Japanese.

Kokuritsu Kokkai Toshokan	National Diet Library
Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan	National Archives of Japan
Kyoto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan	Kyoto National Museum
Kyoto Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan	National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto
Kyoto Shiritsu Tōjiki Shikenjō	Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre
Kunaishō	Imperial Household Agency
Monbushō	Ministry of Education
Nara Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan	Nara National Museum
Nōshōmushō	Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce
Ōkurashō	Ministry of Finance
Teishitsu	Imperial Household
Teishitsu Hakubutsukan	Imperial Museum
Tokyo Kokuritsu Bunkazai Kenkyūjo	National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo
Tokyo Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan	Tokyo National Museum
Tokyo Kokuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan	National Museum of Modern Art, Tokyo

Abbreviations used

NIE: National Industrial Exhibition 内国勸業博覧会

Introduction

The Meiji Restoration of 1868 led to fundamental changes in the structure of political and economic institutions in Japan, as encapsulated by the popular slogans *fukoku kyōhei* (enrich the country and strengthen the military), and *shokusan kōgyō* (increase production and promote industry).¹ As a consequence of the reforms, international trade channels were more widely opened from the beginning of the Meiji era (1868-1912) and the export market for Japanese ceramics flourished.² During the latter half of the nineteenth century, Japanese ceramics had been extremely popular in Europe and North America, and certainly contributed to the wave of fashion for things Japanese that reached Western shores. Thousands of ceramics from the period were acquired and are still preserved in museums and private collections in the West. The majority of scholarly publications to date have been catalogues describing works found in these collections. Recently, however, there has been a revival of interest in ceramics of the Meiji era from new perspectives, which has led to a renewed study of a wide range of material previously underrepresented in research publications.

Most studies of Japanese ceramics of the Meiji era both in Japanese and Western languages have emphasised the role of European taste. Studies such as these often divided the ceramic production of the Meiji era into distinct categories of domestic versus export, traditional versus modern. The focus of most research is associated with Japan's rapid and

¹ *Fukoku kyōhei*: The principal idea was to enrich the country so that it could support a strong military. The Meiji government advocated this slogan to promote strategic industries and to strengthen Japan vis-à-vis the Western powers. The Meiji government placed importance on strengthening the military, because they believed this was the only path to revising the unequal treaties with a number of western nations. A significant sum of public capital was invested in public works to support and to modernise the semi-feudalistic industry. *Shokusan kōgyō*: The Meiji government intended to encourage industries to realise the target of *fukoku kyōhei* (see above). The government introduced advanced European technologies to modernise domestic industry, transport and agriculture in particular.

² Gross sales of export ceramics at Yokohama shows a miraculous increase from 3,203.92 yen in 1868 to 45,057.05 yen in 1874 and to 516,647.36 yen in 1881. For fourteen years between 1868 and 1881, the sales increased over 160 times. (Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1892, 87) Naramoto Tatsuya made the first detailed examination of the development of the export ceramic industry (Naramoto 1943).

successful modernisation and how these works fit into or symbolise this process of technological advancement or turning to the West. As a result, the outcomes are often partial and give the impression that the entire corpus of ceramics was manufactured for transactions to the West. The view that Westernisation affected everything in Meiji society has seldom been questioned.³ Even if it is generally true, this view has worked to camouflage fundamental issues, for such an approach inevitably leads to the omission of a study of what was happening at the same time in the ceramic market inside Japan and in Asia. For example, ceramic wares originally produced for Japanese domestic consumption are plentiful, but have seldom been introduced in scholarly studies.⁴ Also, the study of Japanese export ceramics for the Asian market is still in its early stages, and much work to be done in this area. The entire story of Japanese ceramic production cannot be viewed as a simple opposition between Westernisation and tradition, but was rather more complex involving many different permutations of commissioning and distribution. We may observe, however that the omission of discussions of the domestic and Asian markets from the study of the history of Japanese ceramics has its root in a number of different artistic and historical trends in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

One of the areas most affected by these perceptions is ceramic production in Kyoto. In the Edo period, Kyoto was one of the centres of ceramics. The city does not have rich natural resources and relies on materials, porcelain clay in particular, imported from other areas. The higher material cost forced Kyoto to become a city providing fine ceramic wares targeted to sophisticated cultural elites. Even after the Meiji Restoration, some influential Kyoto potters, ones working in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district in particular, were not interested

³ Watanabe Toshio has noted that 'For the people of the Meiji era, Westernisation affected everything from living space, food, transport, dress, and entertainment, to the position of women in society.' (Watanabe 1996, 21).

⁴ One exception is archaeological study. However, it is often inclined to the typological study in order to estimate the period of production as ceramics are used for dating of excavation sites.

in either Westernisation or Western trade.⁵ They continued to focus on traditional wares for domestic distribution, which often show a strong connection to Qing official porcelain wares.

This thesis attempts to rectify this omission of the study of Japanese ceramics made for the domestic market and the Chinese market during the Meiji era. The focus of this research is ceramic wares created by the Kyoto-based potter Seifū Yohei III (1851-1914) (fig. i).⁶ He dominated the Japanese ceramic field between the 1880s and 1890s and his artistic career serves as an excellent case study. The multi-faceted character of this potter provides an opportunity to explore crucial issues concerning the stages of transition not only of Japanese ceramics, but also of Japanese art at the beginning of Japan's modern age.

Because of the multi-faceted character of Seifū Yohei III and a diversity of the issues discussed, this thesis introduces the interdisciplinary approach as a methodology. Each chapter, six in all, uses different methodological approaches, which put a special emphasis on the perspectives of the following studies. Understanding the 'movement' of objects, in every sense of the word – from the moment of their conception, through the processes of production and distribution, and how they were finally used or displayed – is one of the primary concerns of material culture studies. Arjun Appadurai famously stated that 'even though from a theoretical point of view human actors encode things with significance, from a methodological point of view it is the things-in-motion that illuminate their social and human context', and recent scholarship on material cultures of various societies, including this one, have been inspired by Appadurai's approaches.⁷ In an East Asian context, Craig Clunas in his influential work *Superfluous Things*, investigated the systems of consumption and taste of the Ming China.⁸ Approaches that draw attention to the relationship between the consumer and circulation of objects, are being done in tandem with the studies of producers, which traditionally had been the focus of art historical studies. While for a while it seemed

⁵ See Chapter One for details of production of the Kiyomizu-Gojō district.

⁶ Figure i: Seifū Yohei III.

⁷ Appadurai 1986, 5.

⁸ Clunas 1991.

that monographic studies of prominent artists or artisans had fallen out of fashion, in recent years we have seen how new and traditional approaches have built on each other to create a dynamic new variety of scholarship. This thesis attempts to bridge traditional biographical approaches, with their emphasis on a the potter as a creative individual, with a broader view of the social, political and economic contexts of production and consumption of ceramics during the Meiji era.

Unlike many fellow potters, Seifū Yohei III had a highly sophisticated cultural background and he was connected with individuals in various social divisions – bureaucrats, Japanese and Chinese literati scholars, and tea masters of both *chanoyu* and *sencha*.⁹ In addition, Seifū also dominated local and national ceramic competitions in the late nineteenth century.¹⁰ His success at these competitions led to his participation in several international expositions such as the International Expositions in Paris in 1889 and 1900, the World Columbian Exposition in Chicago in 1893 and the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910.¹¹ Finally, Seifū was the first potter appointed as a *teishitsu gigei'in* (Artist for the Imperial Household).¹² Receiving the title in 1893 (Meiji 26), he was later joined by four other potters making up a total of seventy-nine artists altogether in the course of the *teishitsu gigei'in* designation. Thus, the work of Seifū Yohei III embodies various cultural, social, functional and political aspects of the times in which he lived and is a result of careful selection of styles by the artist, which took into account customers' consumption choices.

Recent studies on Japanese arts such as Rupert Cox's *The Culture of Copying in Japan*¹³ and Jan Mrázek and Morgan Pitelka's *What's the Use of Art?*¹⁴ have introduced

⁹ Pollard 2002, 63. Jahn 2005, 264.

¹⁰ Prominent prizes Seifū Yohei III won were *Myōgi ittōshō* (First Prize of Technical Excellence) at NIE III in 1891 (Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 153-156), and *Meiyo ginpai* (Honoured Silver Prize) at NIE IV in 1895 (Shimabayashi 1895).

¹¹ National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo 1997, 243, 260, 275, 316, 298, 389

¹² The institution of *teishitsu gigei'in* was implemented in 1890 in order to acknowledge well established artists in various field. See Chapter Six for further information.

¹³ Cox 2007.

¹⁴ Mrázek 2008.

more sophisticated analyses of material culture in various Asian contexts. Their analyses incorporate to investigations on previously undiscussed issues in Asian arts such as the significance of copying, the mutable functionality and ever-changing circulation of art objects. This thesis takes into account such methodological approaches as they apply to a study of Seifū Yohei III.

Before beginning the discussion, it is helpful to review how ceramic wares of the Meiji era have hitherto been studied in the scholarly field. Until recently, to a certain extent the Meiji era has been treated as the 'Dark Ages' of Japanese ceramics. Most work from the era has been considered unworthy both scholarly and artistically. These ceramics have been discussed neither in the fields of art history nor in the study of East Asian ceramics. Previously they had often been discussed in the field of industrial history and archaeology. In the early Shōwa era, publications related to ceramics of the Meiji era were very limited, for example, *Kindai no tōjiki to yōgyō* (Modern Ceramics and Ceramic Industry) by Shioda Rikizō (1864-1946) published in 1929 and *Tōki hyakuwa* (A Hundred Stories on Ceramics) published in 1935 by Ōta Yoshihisa (1864-1941).¹⁵ These publications only contained sets of accounts of their experiences related to ceramic wares and the industry.

In 1943, Naramoto Tatsuya published one of the first scholarly works on this subject. His book *Kindai tōjikiyō no seiritsu* (The Formation of the Modern Ceramic Industry) introduced the idea that the most significant event in the history of modern Japanese ceramics was the rapid growth of the Japanese ceramic industry caused by the debut into the world economy after the Meiji Restoration.¹⁶ In 1956, *Meiji bunkashi* (Cultural History of Meiji Era), one of the earliest books on cultural history of the Meiji era was published. Volume Eight was dedicated to the arts, and Maeda Yasuji and Nakagawa Sensaku wrote a chapter on Meiji ceramics. It gives a detail of history of ceramics as an art

¹⁵ Ceramic engineer and writer. Ōta was one of the first students of Wagener from Tokyō Shokkō Gakkō. Ōta was a lecturer at Gifu-ken Tōjiki Kōshūjo and published on variety of subjects.

¹⁶ Naramoto 1943, v. 37.

form. However, their discussion follows the idea introduced by Naramoto twelve years previously, emphasising international trade and the modernisation of the ceramic industry. Fujioka Kōji's *Kyō-yaki 100 nen no ayumi* (A Century of Progress of Kyoto Ceramics) in 1962 provided a modern history of Kyoto ceramics in great detail. His discussion again was largely oriented to the modernisation of the Kyoto ceramic industry. The arguments focused on industrial potters rather than the independent potters that this dissertation mainly examines.

In 1965, Nakagawa Sensaku wrote an article on Meiji era ceramics. He stated:

Because the Meiji era is not in the distant past and there are relatively few excellent works compared to other historical periods, people have paid less attention to it. However, the Meiji era has great significance as a transitional period in [Japanese] ceramic history. Moreover, I feel that much information would be lost if I did not research now, and therefore have commenced research on this subject.¹⁷

Nakagawa explicitly described the common idea shared by his contemporaries towards this subject. He began his discussion by saying that ceramics of the Meiji era were inferior to those of other periods. These comments by one of the most well-established scholars of the subject reflect the general view when they were published.

Ceramic historian Arakawa Masaaki suggests that the notion of *wabi* (a fundamental framework in *chanoyu*, Japanese tea gathering) might have affected the seemingly low evaluation of Meiji ceramics.¹⁸ The popularity of schools of *chanoyu* such as Omote-senke, Ura-senke and Mushanokōji-senke during the Meiji era that transformed its status as a male culture into a feminine cultural pursuit was probably partially responsible.

For example, leading ceramic art historians of the post-war period, Okuda Seiichi

(1883-1955), Koyama Fujio (1900-75) and Hayashiya Seizō (b.1928) co-edited *Nihon no tōji*

¹⁷ 「大体明治期の陶磁工芸については、他期に較べて優れた作品がないことや、時代が近いことなどから、余り省みられていないのであるが、変転期として陶磁史上に大きな意義があるし、また今日の段階において調査を進めねば不明になることも多いと思い、爾後わずかながらも調査を続けてきた。」 (Nakagawa 1965, 26).

¹⁸ Arakawa 1998, 130.

(Ceramics of Japan) in 1954. They were all deeply involved with the culture of *chanoyu*, and this book tends to exclude any objects that did not fit their taste and a set of rules regulated by the arts of *chanoyu*. While including a Korean bowl that was mass-produced in a popular kiln, certain kinds of Japanese ceramics were excluded from their discussion no matter how popular they were during the time of their production.

In addition, the structure of the national museums escalated this problem even more. The National Museum of Modern Art was established in Tokyo in 1952 and in Kyoto in 1963. Because these museums did not specifically decide when exactly the 'Modern' period began, Japanese art history was divided into two parts right in the middle of the Meiji era. Since then, generally speaking, the National Museums in Tokyo and Kyoto have dealt with objects dated prior to the early Meiji era, whereas the National Museums of Modern Art in Tokyo and Kyoto deal with art objects dated after the late Meiji era. As a result, the arts of the Meiji era were studied by scholars who specialised in either the Edo period or the post-Taishō era. The mid-Meiji era ended up suffering from a dearth of scholarly attention until one of the national museums attempted to change the situation.¹⁹

Four years after founding, in 1967, the National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto did organized the exhibition *Kindai Nihon no kōgei* (Crafts of Modern Japan) commemorating the one-hundredth anniversary of the Meiji Restoration. One-hundred-and-one ceramic works including eight works by Miyagawa Kōzan I (1842-1916) and ten works by Seifū Yohei III were exhibited. The review of this exhibition mentioned:

This kind of project that examines the development of Japanese modern craft has seldom been attempted in comparison to painting and sculpture. This exhibition can be considered an important event to fill the gap.²⁰

¹⁹

²⁰ 「ひろい視野から日本の近代工芸の展開をあとづけるこのような企画は絵画や彫刻に比べて従来あまり試みられたことがなかったが、それを埋めるものとして意義のある展観であったとおもわれる。」 (National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto 2002).

This explains the situation surrounding ceramics of the Modern period in the late 1960s.²¹

Although the exhibition pointed out the importance of research on Japanese modern crafts, it remained one of the few exhibitions of its kind organised by a national museum until very recently.

In 1978, Suzuki Kenji wrote a comprehensive article on the Taishō and Shōwa eras for *Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu 15: tōjiki 1* (Arts of Japan with Coloured Illustrations, vol. 15, Ceramics, vol. 1). His article was one of the first attempts to reconsider the development of Japanese ceramics from the Meiji to Shōwa era as a time of continuous development. Around the same time, exhibitions on ceramics of the Meiji era were more frequent in local museums in areas famous for ceramic production. In 1979, one of the first exhibitions *Meiji no kyō-yaki* (Kyoto Ceramics of the Meiji era) was curated by Nakanodō Kazunobu at Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan (Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives). The exhibition focused on the Kyoto ceramic industry during the Meiji era and introduced major works by the leading potters of Kyoto.

Since the later half of the 1990s, there has been a growing interest in the arts and crafts of the Meiji era. It was probably related to appearances of major collectors in the Europe. Nasser D Khalili was the most influential in this respect. The Khalili Collection catalogue, *Meiji no Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan vol. 1-5*, was published in 1995. This bilingual catalogue (English and Japanese) made many Japanese scholars re-evaluate its historical importance. Soon a number of scholarly researches started to appear. At first, scholarly attention was paid to biographical studies of individual potters or ceramic industrialists.²² Nakanodō wrote a series of articles on Kyoto potters including Seifū Yohei

²¹ This exhibition opened for a month with 4674 visitors (National Museum of Modern Art, Kyoto 2002).

²² The difference between individual potters and ceramic industrialists is mainly the size of the operation. An individual potter owns his workshops, but does not necessarily own his own kiln. The size of the operation is very small and often operated only by members of the same family. A ceramic industrialist owns one or more factories with kilns. The size of the operation is large and sometimes several hundred artisans are employed. An individual potter creates works on his own, but a ceramic

III. Kobayashi Junko has written a number of articles on Kawahara Noritatsu (1844-1914) since 1997.²³ Yokoyama Megumi published a series of articles on the potters Takemoto Yōsai (b. 1832) and Hayata (1848-92) between 1998 and 2000. In 1999, the Study Group of Modern Ceramics was founded in Seto. Their journal, *Kindai tōji* (Journal of Modern Ceramics), has introduced a variety of articles on related subjects.²⁴ In 2001, Arakawa Masaaki published *Itaya Hazan no shōgai: shugyoku no tōgei* (The Life of Itaya Hazan: Ceramics of Excellent Beauty). In 2002, Nikaidō Mitsuru published *Miyagawa Kōzan to Yokohama Makuzu-yaki* (Miyagawa Kōzan and Makuzu Ware from Yokohama). These publications were followed or incorporated with exhibitions of Miyagawa Kōzan's works. These detailed studies certainly have deepened the knowledge of the field and stimulated public interest.

In the 1990s, a number of exhibitions were organised. However, these exhibitions tended to pay too much attention to Japan's participation in international expositions and socio-economic issues between Japan and the West.²⁵ In 2005, the Tokyo National Museum hosted the exhibition *Bankoku hakurankai no bijutsu* (Arts of East and West from World Expositions) to accompany the 2005 World Exposition in Aichi. It was the largest exhibition

industrialist is not necessarily a potter. A ceramic industrialist can be just an owner or a supervisor of a factory.

²³ Kawahara was a governmental official worked for the encouragement of the ceramic industry. Kawahara was born in Kyoto as a samurai. In 1872, he entered the Naimushō and worked for the preparation for the Vienna International Exposition. After the exposition, he worked for Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo. When the laboratory was closed, Kawahara with Shioda Makoto took it over and established the Hyōchi-en factory. Kawahara continued to be a leading figure of the ceramic industry in Tokyo.

²⁴ Scholarly articles on a number of Meiji era potters, including Katō Tomotarō (1851-1916), Kawamoto Masukichi (1831-1907), Inoue Ryōsai II (1845?-1905), Haruna Shigeharu (1848-1907), Katō Gosuke (1837-1915), Kinkōzan Sōbei VII, Gottfried Wagener, Seifū Yohei III have been published in the journal.

²⁵ *Jidai o irodotta yakimono* (Ceramics Embellished the Meiji era) at Seto-shi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan in 1993, *Bunmeikaika no yakimono, ōbei o fūbi shita Japonisme e: Meiji no yakimono* (Japonisme for the Western World: The Pottery of the Meiji era) at Shigaraki Tōgei no Mori in 1996, *Umi o watatta Meiji no bijutsu* (World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 Revisited: the Nineteenth Century Japanese Art Shown in Chicago, U.S.A.) at Tokyo National Museum in 1997, *Umi o koeta Meiji: Europe ga aishita yakimono no bi* (Meiji Art Beyond the Sea: The Beauty of Ceramics Favoured in Europe) at Gifu Kenritsu Hakubutsukan in 2000, *Bankoku hakurankai to kindai tōgei no reimei* (The International Exposition an the Dawn of Modern Japanese Ceramics) at Aichi-ken Tōji Shiryōkan in 2000 and *Makuzu Miyagawa Kōzan ten: sekai o miryōshita Makuzu ware* (Miyagawa Makuzu Kōzan: Makuzu Ware, Fascinated the World) at Yokohama Bijutsukan in 2001.

ever on the arts and crafts of the Meiji era. This exhibition attracted public attention, but again emphasised the modernisation of Japanese art in relation to the West.

Over the last five years, there have been exhibitions from different perspectives. *Kindai yōgyō no chichi: Gottfried Wagener to bankoku hakurankai* (The Father of Modern Ceramics: Gottfried Wagener and the International Expositions) in 2004 at Aichi-ken Tōji Shiryōkan is important in this respect. Although the exhibition was entitled 'The International Expositions', this exhibition focused on contribution of German scientist Gottfried Wagener (1831-92)²⁶ to the development of Japanese ceramics. Sato Kazunobu in his article in this exhibition catalogue described the domestic issues that Wagener and his fellow Japanese faced.²⁷ Okamoto Takashi, a curator at Sannomaru Shōzōkan (the Museum of Imperial Collection), has curated exhibitions on the relationship between the Imperial Household and artists of the Meiji and Taishō eras. His studies have suggested that artists made great efforts to produce wares for the nation and participation in the international expositions was understood as one of their important responsibilities.²⁸ This thesis should be considered a part of these recent movements in Japanese scholarship. The author in the writing of this thesis is greatly indebted to issues raised by these Japanese exhibitions and related publications.

In Europe and North America, scholarship on ceramics of the Meiji era has developed differently. One of the earliest publications on the subject was *Keramic Art of Japan* by George Ashdown Audsley (1838-1925) and James Lord Bowes (1834-99) published in 1875, and 1881.²⁹ The book confirms the widespread collecting of Japanese ceramics in Europe. In this book, Satsuma *kinrande*-style ware received greatest acclaim (fig. ii). The name *kinrande*, which is sometimes translated as gold brocade, traces its origins to

²⁶ Gottfried Wagener was a German scientist. He encouraged modernisation and westernisation of Japanese ceramic industry during the Meiji era. Please see Chapter Two for further details.

²⁷ Satō 2004.

²⁸ Okamoto 2004, 2005 and 2007.

²⁹ James Lord Bowes was a textile merchant based in Liverpool. He developed a large collector of Japanese art, ceramics and cloisonné and published widely in the field of Japanese decorative art.

the Jiajing period (1522-1566) of Ming dynasty China. The style was inspired by this Chinese porcelain and produced in the Satsuma domain in Kyushu during the Edo period. Because of the popularity of this kind of ware in the West, many copies were created also in other parts of Japan.

By the end of 1880s, Edward Sylvester Morse, however, announced that Satsuma *kinrande* ware was produced for the foreign market.³⁰ Then, Bowes and Morse exchanged their contradicting opinions about Satsuma ware through a number of publications in the early 1890s.³¹ These discussions brought the awareness of the fact that a large amount of Satsuma *kinrande* ware was in fact 'export ware.' In 1924, Robert Lockhart Hobson (1872-1941)³² published *Handbook of Pottery and Porcelain of the Far East*. Hobson said:

Satsuma is probably the most familiar to Western ears of all the names of Japanese potteries, but it is almost entirely associated with the modern enamelled wares made for the European market.³³

In 1945, William Bowyer Honey (1889-1956), the Keeper of Department of Ceramics of the Victoria and Albert Museum, published *The Ceramic Art of China and Other Countries of the Far East*. He mentions that the study of Japanese ceramics was a neglected subject in England. He felt this was:

...due in part, perhaps, to reaction, to a bitter memory of the discovery made by a former generation that the 'brocaded Satsuma' and the rest, so eagerly collected in the nineteenth century, were not in Japanese taste at all; and to a consequent fear of being taken in again.³⁴

Along with collecting Satsuma ware, Europeans also collected Chinese-style Japanese porcelain in the late nineteenth century to the early twentieth century. However, the

³⁰ Morse 1888, 513

³¹ See Rousmaniere 2002b for detailed information about the debate on Japanese ceramics between Bowes and Morse.

³² Hobson was a British scholar in Chinese ceramics. He started to work for the British Museum in 1897 and became the Keeper of the Far Eastern Ceramics of the British Museum in 1921.

³³ Hobson 1924, 126.

³⁴ Honey 1945, 177.

reputation of these wares was not as high as the Japanese had hoped. In 1904, Captain Francis Brinkley (1841-1912), an Anglo-Irish journalist and the editor of *Japan Mail*, published *Japan: Its History Arts and Literature vol. VIII, Ceramic Art*.³⁵ While criticising Japanese ceramics for vulgarity and mediocre designs, he showed a certain appreciation for Japanese porcelain.³⁶ He constantly compared Japanese porcelain with its Chinese counterparts and considered Japanese porcelain merely a less skilful imitation of the Chinese official porcelain. Honey also criticised the nineteenth century porcelain wares from Kyoto that:

The porcelain of Kyoto (Kiyomizu, etc.) was the work of a host of clever potters, mostly copyists, such as Eisen, Eiraku, Moku Bei³⁷ and Makuzu Kōzan, who created no original style of any great importance; blue-and-white and red-and-green in Ming style were favourable decorations. But much of the Kyoto work is merged in the welter of trivialities showing the characteristic nineteenth century cleverness, ingenuity, and tinsel prettiness for which modern Japanese commercial pottery is notorious.³⁸

Honey's comments here explicitly show that he considered Satsuma style wares to be export wares for the European market and Chinese-style porcelain wares to be copies of Chinese prototypes. Although the reasons were different, ceramics of the Meiji era were not at all popular in Europe.

In 1965, Soame Jenyns published *Japanese Porcelain*. He opposed the stereotyped perspective of these porcelain wares and remarked on the importance of nineteenth century

³⁵ Captain Francis Brinkley studied at the Royal Military Academy in Woolwich and became an Artillery Officer. In 1866, visited Nagasaki on the way to Hong Kong. In 1867, he returned to Japan and never returned home again. In 1871, he was employed by the Meiji government. In 1878, he taught at Kōbu Dai Gakkō (the Imperial College of Engineering). After the Sino-Japanese war, he became a correspondent for *The Times* of London and published widely on subjects of Japanese arts and cultures. Brinkley was awarded the Imperial Order for contributions to Anglo-Japanese relations.

³⁶ Brinkley developed a large collection of Japanese porcelain. A part of his collection is stored in the Seikadō Bunko Collection.

³⁷ Moku Bei is a ceramist and painter of Japanese literati-style painting. He was born in the family, which owned a tea house Kiya in Gion, Kyoto. His given name was Yasohachi. Mokubei's Moku (木) was taken from the name of the shop Kiya (木屋), and Bei (米) was made up by combining three Chinese characters for Yasohachi (八十八). He is sometimes called as Aoki Mokubei, but it is better to use Moku Bei

³⁸ Honey 1945, 188.

Kyoto porcelain.

There was no great imperial factory in Japan as there was in China..., one nearly always finds that the taste for the tea ceremony was the chief motive force behind every Japanese small private kiln, and these small kilns flourished in the nineteenth century and still flourish to-day. The great centre of these studio potters in the late eighteenth/early nineteenth century was Kyoto... I think he [Honey] seriously underestimated the talents of the leaders of this new movement.³⁹

Jenyns stressed that the importance of private kilns in Kyoto and said they were not just copyists. He continues:

The works of these artists are not easy for a foreigner to study in Japan. Most of the pieces are in the hands of one or two collectors in Osaka, who are shy of showing them to foreigners. Moreover, they are most of them connected with the Chinese, as opposed to the Japanese form of tea ceremony they are unpopular today, command poor price, and seldom appear in the sale room.⁴⁰

Jenyns here points out the existence of Japanese porcelain for the domestic market and its rareness even in Japan. Despite Jenyns's interest, it was not possible to develop the field without help from Japanese scholars. However, the 1960s was still a time when the entire corpus of ceramics was neglected or considered trivial in Japan. In 1972, *The Art of Japanese Ceramics* by leading ceramic archaeologist Mikami Tsugio, and in 1973, *Arts of Japan 2: Kyoto Ceramics* by ceramic historian Satō Masahiko were both published in English. However, neither book had a chapter on the Meiji era. In the 1970s, general opinions were still unchanged. In 1974, Irene Stitt expressed her opinion in the first page of her book *Japanese Ceramics of the Last 100 Years*:

Wares produced since 1868...it is true that a lot of worthless junk was produced during this period, and even the best pieces do not measure up to the beauty and fineness of the old wares.⁴¹

³⁹ Jenyns 1965, 285-286.

⁴⁰ Jenyns 1965, 285-286.

⁴¹ Stitt 1974, vii.

The curator at the Ashmolean Museum, Oliver Impey, played a crucial role in reintroducing Meiji ceramics to the West. In his essay 'The Change in Japanese Ceramics' in the exhibition catalogue *Meiji: Japanese Art in Transition: Ceramics, cloisonné, lacquer, prints...* held in Haags Gemeentemuseum in 1987, he and Malcolm Fairley concluded:

Work on the ceramics of the Meiji and Taishō eras of Japan has barely begun; this exhibition may well accelerate that study.⁴²

As Impey suspected, this exhibition stimulated the art market and certain public interest. It eventually stimulated scholarly interest certainly by the 1990s.

Christine Guth's *Art, Tea, and Industry* was published in 1993. Her research is worth special attention in many respects. For the first time in the West, she revealed the complexity in the relationship between art collecting, the leaders of Japanese industry and the tea gathering during the Meiji and Taishō eras. It was one of the first studies outside Japan to focus on the domestic aspects of Japanese art of the period. She explained how Masuda Takashi (1848-1938)⁴³, one of the period's most successful industrialists, took over the role of the tea masters of the Edo period, and became the tastemaker of his time. His love of *chanoyu* and Buddhist art enlarged the industry of art collecting. *Chanoyu* became the fundamental knowledge for many industrialists because of him. The book certainly provided a new insight into the activities of the domestic art environment in Japan between the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries.

Conversely, the mainstream of study still focused on export wares and their relationship with the West. It can be observed in a travelling exhibition with the catalogue *Bridging East and West: Japanese Ceramics from the Kōzan Studio* curated by Kathleen Emerson-Dell between 1994 and 1995. It highlighted ceramic works by Miyagawa Kōzan I

⁴² Impey 1987, 26.

⁴³ As an entrepreneur of the Meiji era and the leading *chanoyu* tea practitioner, Masuda greatly contributed in expanding the Mitsui combine. While working for the Mitsui & Co., Ltd. and Chūgai bukka shinpō (predecessor of the Nihon Keizai Shinbun), Matsuda developed a large collection of tea ware.

(1842-1916) from the Perry Foundation. In 1995, Impey, Fairley and Joe Earle edited *Meiji no Takara: Treasures of Imperial Japan* which introduced Meiji ceramics from the Khalili Collection. This exhibition revealed that Meiji potters were capable of highly sophisticated designs and production techniques. This raised awareness of this previously neglected material as 'treasures' of Imperial Japan.

Europe and North America imported thousands of Japanese ceramic wares during the Meiji era. In the early twentieth century, western scholars and collectors discovered that the ceramics in their collections were not in Japanese taste at all. This devastating fact made them ignore or try not to discuss those ceramics until very recent. It was only in the 1980s that these ceramics were rediscovered. The bitter memory was successfully rewritten, and the objects were recontextualised. The new concept given to those ceramics was 'Treasures of Imperial Japan.'

Clare Pollard's extensive study of Miyagawa Kōzan I has had an impact on study in Britain and Japan: *Master Potter of Meiji Japan: Makuzu Kōzan (1842-1916) and his Workshop* published by Clare Pollard in 2002. Pollard has revealed how those ceramics made their way onto the export market soon after the Meiji Restoration in 1868, and how Japanese potters adjusted the styles and designs of their products according to ever-changing European tastes. Satsuma ware was also reintroduced in *Meiji Ceramics: The Art of Japanese Export Porcelain and Satsuma Ware 1868-1912* by Gisela Jahn published in 2005. Jahn successfully introduced the diversity of Meiji export ceramics and Satsuma ware. Both publications are well-researched and carefully documented and have revealed the interactions between the West and Japan through ceramics in the Meiji era. Because their studies set up firm bases, this thesis can focus on Seifū Yohei III in relation to domestic issues and the Sino-Japanese relationships.

For the last twenty years, research has mainly focused on the Westernisation and modernisation of Japanese ceramics and ceramic production. The study of ceramics of the

Meiji era developed separately in Japan and the West, but both lineages first denied the artistic value of the works and then rediscovered it in 1980s and 1990s. The Meiji era, once considered the Dark Ages of Japanese ceramic history, was successfully transformed into a symbol of Westernisation. While this revisionist image of the Meiji era as a glorious moment in Japanese export ceramics was being created, the role of Asia, China in particular, in the ceramics of the Meiji era remained in limbo. This thesis therefore focuses on Sino-Japanese relations in connection with the ceramics of the Meiji era.

Each of the six chapters of this thesis takes up a different issue in the context of the production and consumption of art in Meiji Japan. The first two chapters explore the role of the Seifū Yohei family in the local environment in Kyoto. Chapter One presents a historiography of the Seifū Yohei lineage, based on a detailed study of documentary evidence, tracing the Kyoto ceramic industry through the transition from the Early-Modern to Modern periods. In addition, this chapter examines ceramic works by the first four generations of Seifū Yohei; most of which have seldom been published previously. The development of the artistic creations of the Seifū Yohei family present a transition of trends in Japanese ceramics in Kyoto from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.

Chapter Two focuses on the rivalry between the two major ceramic centres, Kyoto and Tokyo. This regional rivalry is another important factor that directed not only Seifū's choice of styles, but also the artistic development of Meiji Japan as a whole. This issue of rivalry has occasionally been discussed in the history of Japanese Modern painting, but not so in the ceramic field.⁴⁴ The Meiji government attempted to centralise industrial administration and to make Tokyo the new capital of Japanese arts. In order to maintain its position as the cultural capital of Japan since the Heian period (794-1185), Kyoto independently introduced new cultural measures. By examining the rivalry between the two capitals of Japanese arts, this chapter examine the role of Kyoto and of Seifū Yohei III as a

⁴⁴ Shimada 1987. Sakakibara 1990.

leading Kyoto potter.

This study also relies on the field of Sino-Japanese studies. Since the 1980s, Sinologist Joshua A. Fogel has laid the foundations for the study of intellectual contacts and cross fertilisation between China and Japan from the nineteenth to the twentieth century.⁴⁵ The study has insisted on the importance of reconsidering the implications of increased international commerce in the late nineteenth century. This framework is important for this thesis, because Chinese ceramics were always one of the important factors giving impetus to the development of Japanese ceramics.⁴⁶ Especially after the Sino-Japanese trading agreement of 1872, interaction between the two nations was more active than ever before. However, the role of late Qing China in the material culture of Meiji Japan is still a largely neglected subject. Recently, a few specialists have pointed out the similarities between Meiji porcelain and Qing official porcelain.⁴⁷ This thesis serves as one of the first attempts to explore this aspect in detail.

Chapter Three, Four and Five examine the cultural and economic interactions between the two nations in terms of ceramics. These chapters focus on ceramic trade, the production of Qing-style porcelain in Japan and Japanese interest in *sencha* (Chinese-style tea drinking), respectively. Moreover, these chapters address how the Japanese perception of Qing porcelain changed according to different social and cultural contexts.

Chapter Three is a study of the ceramic trade between China and Japan. The opening of Kobe port in 1868 expanded the possibility of Japanese international trade vis-à-vis the Asian continent, namely China. Yokohama has been introduced as the leading trading port, but was actually in decline in the 1880s as a port for export ceramics. Over the years, the centre of export ceramics for the Chinese and European markets gradually shifted to Kobe. In the 1890s, China became the second largest destination for Japanese ceramics

⁴⁵ Joshua A. Fogel is the founding editor of the journal *Sino-Japanese Studies* and professor of history at the University of California, Santa Barbara.

⁴⁶ Itō 1998, 74.

⁴⁷ Pollard 1995, 51. Okamoto 2005, 88.

after the United States. Thousands of Chinese nationals lived in Japan and participated in a wide range of cultural and commercial activities. The introduction of Kobe forces us to redraw the map of distribution and dissemination of Japanese export ceramics. Chapter Four examines the relationship between China and Seifū Yohei III. This chapter focuses on the potter's educational background as a literati-style painter. His interest in Qing dynasty official porcelain was closely connected to his involvement with Japanese literati circles. In addition, this chapter introduces Seifū Yohei III's direct contacts with Chinese literati scholars. Chapter Five examines the production of ceramic utensils for tea, and uncovers the rivalry between *chanoyu* and *sencha*, that is, between Japanese- and Chinese-style tea drinking practices. The production of *sencha* tea wares during the nineteenth century opens another dimension in the history of Japanese ceramics.

In addition, these three chapters provide an opportunity to address how the decline of the Qing dynasty affected artistic activities in Japan and how it affected artistic creation. All the aspects discussed in these chapters suggest that dramatic changes occurred between the two nations in the 1890s. They cannot be separated from the political events in the early 1890s that led to the First Sino-Japanese War in 1895.⁴⁸ After the war, Japanese admiration for contemporary Qing China steeply declined. Seifū Yohei III was one of the artists most affected by the change. Chapter Six investigates Seifū Yohei III's recognition as *teishitsu gigei'in*. This chapter looks into the official taste of Imperial Japan during the Meiji era and the process that led to establishing a comprehensive system for supporting the nation's artistic heritage. Seifū Yohei III was commissioned to produce dozens of major works for the Imperial family. At the same time, Seifū Yohei III started to use Japanese motifs for his Chinese-style works. This final chapter explores this fusion of Chinese and Japanese characteristics within a ceramic work and its relation to the changing taste of the Imperial

⁴⁸ As Kikuchi discussed in her book *Japanese Modernization and Mingei Theory: Cultural Nationalism and Oriental Orientalism*, the modernisation of Japan was closely related to cultural nationalism, which was driven by the Japanese imperialism (Kikuchi 2004).

Household.

Chapter One

A Historiography of the Seifū Yohei Lineage

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the biography and career of Seifū Yohei III and to re-examine the history of the Seifū Yohei family, which has been described as a seemingly uninterrupted lineage. The Seifū Yohei family is thought to be one of the most prestigious ceramic families in Kyoto, known since the mid-nineteenth century, but its history remains uncertain. The succession of pseudonyms is a common practice among potters in Kyoto. There, each ceramic name has special connotations. A well-known example would be the Raku family. From Raku Chōjirō, the first generation of the family, there have been fifteen generations of potters all producing earthenware tea bowls, *raku* ware, for *chanoyu*.⁴⁹ The new head of a family is required to take over the family styles and customers. This tradition gives potters both positive and negative effects. The successor would have a stable business from the beginning, but the range of works he was allowed to produce would be mostly pre-decided. The head of a ceramic family was allowed to change the style anytime, but would have been reluctant to risk losing existing customers and markets. Seifū Yohei III, thus, cannot be understood without understanding who the first and second generations were in the Kyoto ceramic industry. In order to begin the study of Seifū Yohei III, his given role in the local ceramic community is, therefore, important. This chapter reveals that local politics played a crucial part in deciding the artistic activities and creations of the potter.

This chapter also deals with the role of new technologies in this traditional industry. The development of Seifū Yohei III's artistic creation cannot be separated from the list of his technical inventions and innovations.⁵⁰ The list shows what new technologies were in the

⁴⁹ Pitelka 2001. The Suwa Sozan family, started in the early Meiji era, was good at producing Chinese style celadon ware. The Kinkōzan Sōbei family produced export Satsuma ware.

⁵⁰ Appendix 1-1.

nineteenth century and explains the importance of owning the right to use them. Seifū Yohei III played a crucial role in making earlier 'secrets in ceramic production', which had been monopolised by a few potters, public for the development of the Kyoto ceramic industry as a whole. This aspect allows us to explore the introduction of patents in Japan and the notion of authorship in the ceramic field. Furthermore, this chapter works as a basis to develop other important issues previously overlooked. The historiography of the Seifū Yohei family confirms the importance of a number of issues discussed in the following chapters.

Before examining the generations of the Seifū Yohei family in detail, a brief explanation of the ceramic industry of Kyoto in the nineteenth century is needed. The centre of ceramic production was the foothills of the Higashiyama Mountains on the east side of the city. The two main areas were the Awataguchi district, located to the north of the Chion-in temple, and the Kiyomizu Gōjō district, located south of the temple. The first four generations of Seifū Yohei worked in the latter district.

Kilns in the Awataguchi district were operated certainly by the end of sixteenth century.⁵¹ We know that, by 1800, six kiln owners, Kinkōzan Sōbei, Iwakurasan Kichibei, Hōzan Bunzō, Gyōzan Chūbei, Taizan Yohei, Rakutōzan (first name unknown), and other fourteen ceramic families, who did not own kilns, were operated. Their signature styles, cream colour clay with finely crackled transparent glaze with overglaze polychrome enamels, were traditionally called 'Awata-yaki' (Awata ware).⁵²

The Kiyomizu-Gojō district was originally two separated districts, the Kiyomizu and the Gojōzaka. The first record of 'Kiyomizu-yaki' (Kiyomizu ware) is found in a paragraph of 1643 (Kan'ei 20) in *Kakumeiki* (the Diary of Hōrin Jōshō).⁵³ It appears that the kiln was owned by Seibei and produced tea ware and food vessels. Ceramic production in

⁵¹ Miyoshi 1978a, 70-71.

⁵² See Miyoshi 1978a, 1978b and 1978c for the history of the development of the ceramic industry of the Awataguchi district. See Ogawa 1989 for information on the history and makers of Awata-yaki kilns.

⁵³ Nakanodō 1988, 109. Hōrin Jōshō (1593-1668) was an abbot of Kinkaku-ji temple.

the Gojōzaka district was started by the Otowa-yaki kiln in the early Edo period. By the end of the eighteenth century, the area had developed as one of the largest ceramic producing districts along with the Awataguchi and Kiyomizu districts.⁵⁴ The ceramic production of the two districts developed similar to each other.⁵⁵

The relationship of the two districts, Awataguchi and Kiyomizu-Gojō, was not friendly and often very competitive. The conflict originated in an incident in 1824 (Bunsei 7). Potters in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district started to produce stoneware in the style of the Awataguchi kilns using the same clay. After this incident, potters in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district were not allowed to make wares in the style of Awataguchi ware.⁵⁶ This incident brought about the rules between the two districts that ceramic families and potters would never moved to the other district, and there was no exchange of apprentices between the districts. This rivalry between the two districts continued until 1870. A large portion of historical documents of the Taizan Yohei family, the Tanzan Seikai family and the Kinkōzan Sōbei family in the Awataguchi district and the Takahashi Dōhachi family, the Wake Kitei family, the Seifū Yohei family, the Mashimizu Zōroku family, the Kiyomizu Rokubei family and the Kiyomizu Shichibei family in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, were gathered. They burnt it by themselves in order to erase their dishonourable history of conflicts. Although the purpose was fulfilled, this has caused a significant difficulty working on Kyoto ceramics of the Early Modern period. As a result, studies including this thesis have to rely on histories that were mostly re-written during the Meiji era.

Biographies of the first and second generations of Seifū Yohei share the same problem. These are mostly based on three biographical accounts, *Fuken tōkienkaku*

⁵⁴ Nakanodō 1988, 105.

⁵⁵ See Nakanodō 1988 and Oka 1997 for a detailed examination of the two districts towards the end of the Edo Period.

⁵⁶ Mashimizu 1935, 49-50. At the time, the Kiyomizu-Gojō district flourished more than the Awataguchi district. Potters of the Awataguchi pleaded with Shōren-in no miya (Prince Shōren) to make Kiyomizu-Gojō potters stop firing blue-and-white porcelain. Although it was not successful, but later Awataguchi potters managed to stop Kiyomizu-Gojō potters firing the wares in the style of Awataguchi ware. Shōrenin no miya in 1824 was Sonshin hosshinnō (1743-1824) or Sonpō shinnō (1804-1832).

tōkōdentōshi (History of Ceramics and Tradition of Potters of Japan)⁵⁷, *Torishirabesho* (Report of the Seifū Yohei Workshop).⁵⁸ and *Meikarekihōroku* (Biographical Anthology of Famous People).⁵⁹ The lack of records has made studies of Seifū Yohei I (1801-60) and II (1845-78) difficult as recent studies relied on these three texts, provided by Seifū Yohei III over twenty-five years after Yohei I's death. This chapter begins by reconstructing the biographies of the first two generations. It introduces fresh scholarship. It also looks into artistic and technological developments through their ceramic works.

One of the few accounts of Seifū Yohei I and II by a non-member of the family is by the Kyoto potter Mashimizu Zōroku II (1861-1936).⁶⁰ He was the oldest son of Mashimizu Zōroku I (1822-77)⁶¹, who was almost contemporary with Seifū Yohei I. Zōroku II published several books of reminiscences of the Kyoto ceramic field at the end of his career. In *Kokon kyōgama deichū kanwa* (Idle Talks about Kyoto Kilns of Old and New), published in 1935, he provides valuable inside stories which no other potters in the field dared to mention publicly (fig. 1-1). He thanked the publisher for accepting a very problematic manuscript and making it into a publication in the preface.⁶² It contains brief but important information about Seifū Yohei I and II.

In addition, previous studies of Seifū Yohei I and II did not examine actual ceramic

⁵⁷ *Fuken tōkienkaku tōkōdentōshi* was published in 1886 by Kōmukyoku (Department of Industry) as a part of national survey of domestic industry. The Seifū Yohei family is listed among other Kyoto potters.

⁵⁸ *Torishirabesho* is a manuscript written by Seifū Yohei III on the family history dated November 1887. Kyoto Prefecture ordered Kyoto potters to produce details of their operations including the history and details of production.

⁵⁹ *Meika rekihōroku* was published in 1898 by Kuroda Yuzuru (Tengai), a journalist. The contents are based on an interview of Seifū Yohei III Kuroda did on 30 November 1897. Captain Brinkley's account of Seifū Yohei I in *Japan and China Vol. 8* is similar to *Meika rekihōroku* (Brinkley 1904, 226-227).

⁶⁰ Mashimizu Zōroku II, potter of the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, was the oldest son of Mashimizu Zōroku I. He entered the family business at the age of 12. As Zōroku was interested in Chinese and Korean ceramic wares, he took on research trips to China in 1889 and 1891 and to Korea in 1910. He published several books on variety of subjects in relation to ceramics.

⁶¹ Mashimizu Zōroku I, potter of the Kiyomizu-Gojō district in Kyoto, was born in a farming family in Yamashiro and apprenticed himself to Wake Kitei. He served for Myōhōin no miya Norihito hosshinnō (Prince Norihito of Myōhōin) and worked for producing ancient wares and celadon ware.

⁶² 「随分面倒な原稿を引き受けて出版せられた愛陶家永澤金港堂主人に厚く御禮申上る。」 (Mashimizu 1935, 2).

works. Only a handful of their works are in Japanese museum collections, and many examples are still in private hands. It has been an obstacle for research on this subject. The following discussion, therefore, tries to introduce as many illustrations of ceramic works by the two potters as possible.

Seifū Yohei I (1801-61)

Fuken tōkientaku tōkōdentōshi in 1886 and *Torishirabesho* in 1887, by Seifū Yohei

III, included a brief history of the family. Most previously published biographies of Seifū Yohei I and II are based on these short paragraphs. The following is a translation of the paragraph in *Torishirabesho*.

Seifū Yohei I was born in Kanazawa as a son of bookseller Yasuda Yahei and called himself Baihin. He was born in Kyōwa 10 [sic] and died in Bunkū 1 (1861).⁶³ He came to Kyoto during the Bunsei era (1818-30), and apprenticed himself to Ninnami Dōhachi (1783 -1855)⁶⁴ to study ceramics. In Kōka 1 (1844), he opened a shop in the Gojōzaka district. He produced ceramic wares of Japan and China and *raku* ware *tokokazari* [ornaments for the *tokonoma*]. Later, Yohei I mainly produced popular wares and tea wares of celadon, blue-and-white, and *kinrande*. In Kōka 4 (1847), the lord of Bizen ordered Yohei to instruct locals in the production of blue-and-white porcelain and various types of stoneware. In Ansei 4 (1857), the chief priest of Higashi Hongan-ji temple commissioned him to produce a set of *kinrande* ware. Yohei received a prize for the works. He was a good friend of Nukina Kaioku (1778 - 1863)⁶⁵ and Oda Kaisen (1785 -1862).⁶⁶ They produced collaborative works of various shapes.⁶⁷

⁶³ The tenth year of Kyōwa era does not exist as Kyōwa lasted from 1801 to 1804. Nakanodō assumes that it was probably a mistake for Kyōwa 1 (1801).

⁶⁴ Ninnami Dōhachi is the second son of Takahashi Dōhachi I (1749-1808) and the second head of Takahashi Dōhachi family. In 1827, he was invited by Tokugawa Harutomi to Kii domain. He took his brother Shūhei and Mitsuhide to work at Kairakuen-yaki kiln. In 1832, he helped to establish San-gama kiln in Takamatsu. In 1842, he retired and built Momoyama-yaki kiln in Fushimi and died there in 1855. Ninnami is sometimes pronounced as Nin'ami. This thesis uses the former as it appears in *Kadokawa Nihon tōji daijiten*, published in 2002.

⁶⁵ Nukina Kaioku was one of leading Confucian scholar, calligrapher and literati-style painter of the late Edo period. He was born in Awa on Shikoku. He owned a Confucian school in Kyoto and was considered one of the best calligrapher of the era.

⁶⁶ Shijō School painter Oda Kaisen studied painting under Go Shun (1752-1811) and literati-style painting under Rai Sanyō.

⁶⁷ 「初代與平ハ梅賓ト號ス加賀國金沢ノ書肆保田彌平ノ男ナリ享和十年ニ生レ文久元年ニ卒ス文政年中京師ニ来リ二代高橋仁阿彌ノ門ニ入り陶器ノ業ヲ修ム弘化元年五条阪ニ開業シ和

Twenty years after *Tōrishirabesho*, *Meikarekihōroku* was published. The two accounts share this information, but there are some additions and modifications. First, *Meikarekihōroku* does not describe Yasuda Yahei, Seifū Yohei I's father, as a bookseller, but as a samurai. Second, the later account states that he moved to Kyoto in Bunka 10 (1813), not during the Bunsei era. Third, it adds one career, which was not mentioned in *Tōrishirabesho*. *Meikarekihōroku* states that Seifū Yohei I became independent during the Bunsei era, and that Ninnami Dōhachi allowed him to build a kiln in the Sanyasō district in Fushimi Momoyama, south of Kyoto. Seifū Yohei I then moved to Gojō-zaka and opened a shop in Bunsei 11 (1828).⁶⁸

The first problem here is how Seifū Yohei I, who was neither artist nor potter, managed to apprentice to Ninnami Dōhachi, one of the leading potters of the time. It would not have been easy and thus this suggests Seifū Yohei I's proper social background. Seifū Yohei III once changed Yohei I's background from a bookseller to a samurai without any explanation. Considering who Yasuda Yahei was, there is a short account possibly related to Seifū Yohei I. *Kanōkyōdojii* (Dictionary of Kaga Province) has a section on Yasuda Yasuemon.

Yasuda Yasuemon: given name is Ichirōemon. Worked under Honda Azusa no kami, the head of the Eight Families of Kaga: 50,000 koku, and received seventy koku... he died in Kyōwa 1 (1801). His heir, Kajinosuke III, absconded during the Bunsei era and the family line died out.⁶⁹

漢ノ陶磁器及樂焼ノ床飾等ヲ造レリ後チ専ラ青磁青華磁酒茶器及金襴彩画ノ諸器ヲ製セリ弘化四年備前藩主ノ命ヲ受ケテ全国虫明村ニ於テ陶窯ヲ築キ青華磁器各種諸陶キ製出シ詠住人ヲシテ是レヲ教示ス安政四年東本願寺法主ノ召ニ応シ金襴手彩色ノ諸器ヲ製シ褒賞ヲ得ル常ト貫名海屋小田海仙氏等ト交游ニ依テ合作書画スル器物アリ」(Seifū Yohei III, 1887). *Fuken tōki enkaku tōkō dentōshi* has almost identical account of Seifū Yohei I (Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku and Kōmukyoku 1886, 8-9).

⁶⁸ 「初代清風與平、梅實と號す。加州金澤の士保田彌平の男にして、享和十年を以て生る。文化十年京師に來り、師家の命に依り、窯を伏見桃山三夜莊に築き、専ら製陶に従事し（後略）」(Kuroda 1899, 43-44).

⁶⁹ 「保田保右衛門 初名市郎右衛門。本多安房守（加賀八家筆頭 五万石）に仕えて70石を受けたが、（中略）享和元年歿した。その嫡統は、3代嘉次之助 文政中出奔して断絶した。」(Hioki 1942, 861).

The family name Yasuda is the same. In addition, Yasuda Kajinosuke III absconded and Seifū Yohei I moved to Kyoto both during the Bunsei era (1818-30). In addition, Seifū Yohei I's other name, Baihin, literally means plum and guest. The family crest of the Maeda family of Kaga domain is a stylised plum blossom, Umebachi (fig. 1-2). At the time, the word plum was a widely recognised as referring to the Maeda family.⁷⁰ Therefore, the name Baihin can be translated as 'a guest from Kaga domain.' If Yasuda Kajisuke III were Yasuda Yahei (Seifū Yohei I), this could explain Seifū Yohei I's connection with Ninnami Dōhachi. In fact, having a samurai background is not unusual for potters in Kyoto.⁷¹

Seifū Yohei I arrived in Kyoto either in 1813 or the Bunsei era, and apprenticed himself to Ninnami Dōhachi.⁷² After learning ceramics at his master's workshop, he was allowed to become independent and was instructed to establish a kiln in the Fushimi Momoyama district, south of Kyoto, during the Bunsei era.⁷³ By this time, Dōhachi probably gave him the name, Seifū Yohei. In either 1827 (Bunsei 10), 1828 (Bunsei 11) or 1844 (Kōka 1), Dōhachi allowed Seifū Yohei I to move back to the Gojōzaka district.⁷⁴

In 1847 (Kōka 4), Seifū Yohei I was invited to establish a kiln in Mushiage village in Bizen.⁷⁵ Igi Tadazumi (San'ensai) (1818-86), who was the chief retainer of Okayama domain and a famous tea master, ordered Yohei to establish a kiln in the Tateba district

⁷⁰ This information is provided by Nakaya Shin'ichi, Deputy Director of the Kutani Bijutsukan (Kutani Art Museum).

⁷¹ For example, the father of Moku Bei was a samurai from Owari (Oda 1977, 98). The father of Takahashi Dōhachi I (1749-1804) was a samurai of Kameyama domain of Ise (Fujioka 1962, 235).

⁷² Seifū Yohei I apprenticed to Ninnami Dōhachi between 1813 and 1830 for a maximum of seventeen years.

⁷³ Unfortunately, no surviving examples of Seifū Yohei I's works from his Fushimi Momoyama period are known.

⁷⁴ It is uncertain when Yohei I moved to Kyoto. Seifū Yohei III suggested 1828 (Bunsei 11) and 1844 (Kōka 1). Yoshida Akifumi, on the other hand, introduced another possibility. According to Yoshida, Yohei I moved across the road from Dōhachi's house in 1827 (Bunsei 10), but was only allowed to fire *raku* ware. In the following year, he was finally allowed to fire porcelain and moved within the district and opened a kiln. Yoshida introduced the most detailed account, but did not note his source. (Yoshida 1935, 40-41). *Kōgei kagami* includes a family tree of the Seifū Yohei family. It states that Seifū Yohei I opened a kiln in 1844 (Kōka 1) (Yokoi 1894).

⁷⁵ Present day Oku-chō, Setouchi-shi.

facing the Inland Sea of Japan. Yohei moved to Mushiage in the third month, produced works using various clay materials for about half a year until the tenth month. For instance, a bowl with chrysanthemum design is a rare stoneware example from Yohei's Mushiage-yaki period (fig. 1-3).⁷⁶ The bowl shows strong similarities in technique to Ninnami Dōhachi's stoneware bowl in the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 1-4). In addition, he produced porcelain wares at Mushiage. A vase with fish handles has the inscription, 'Meiho ni oite Seifū zō' (At the bay of Mushiage, made by Seifū) (fig. 1-5). These works prove that Seifū Yohei I had learned skills in porcelain production in Kyoto. Because of the help from Yohei, the Mushiage-yaki kiln could meet all the necessary requirements that Igi Tadazumi envisioned.⁷⁷

After spending less than a year there, Seifū Yohei I returned to Kyoto and produced both stoneware and porcelain. Six works are in the Edward Sylvester Morse Collection at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, representing a wide range of works by the potter. Fig. 1-7 is similar to the example from the Mushiage period.⁷⁸ An incense box with flowers and plants has a finely crackled glaze over a cream-coloured body, which is a distinctive feature of Satsuma-style wares (fig. 1-9). The clay body of this incense box is also similar to a tea bowl in the collection (fig. 1-10). The last two works have high-fired stoneware bodies with underglaze cobalt blue decoration (fig. 1-11, 12).

Although the Morse Collection contains no porcelain works by Seifū Yohei I, a number of porcelain works are in other collections.⁷⁹ A lidded jar by Seifū Yohei I is dated

⁷⁶ Okuchō-shi Hensan Iinkai 2003, 155.

⁷⁷ The kiln continued to operate in the Meiji era. Miyagawa Kōzan I was invited to supervise the kiln in the beginning of the Meiji era for a few years (fig. 1-6). (Okuchō-shi Hensan Iinkai 2003, 150, 155).

⁷⁸ This has 'Kenzan' mark on the side and a gourd-shaped Seifū seal inside the footring. The Boston collection has another shallow bowl in the Kenzan style (fig. 1-8). Ninnami Dōhachi produced similar works (fig. 1-21). They both use the mark of Kenzan as a design feature.

⁷⁹ Six works by Seifū Yohei I suggest that he produced more stoneware than porcelain, but it was probably due to the characteristic of the Morse Collection. The way Morse built his collection was encyclopaedic and he collected many examples from all over Japan. However, two-thirds of his collection is stoneware according to a paper presented at JAWS 2007 by Princess Akiko of Mikasa, 'Morse says Karatsu – Re-constructing the History of Japanese Ceramics in the West.'

1852 (Kaei 5) (fig. 1-13). A bowl with a design of a fish in a fishing net in a Japanese private collection and an octagonal box with dragon in the British Museum display the perfection of his technique within this medium (fig. 1-14, 15). A *jūbako* (food container) with Chinese landscape and a lidded box with flowers of four seasons shows Seifū Yohei I's skill in Japanese literati-style painting (fig. 1-16, 17). As stated in *Torishirabesho*, he created a few collaborative works. A set of blue-and-white porcelain teacups by Seifū Yohei I is in the Seikadō Bunko Collection, and the calligraphy is attributed to Nukina Kaioku (fig. 1-18). Kaioku was a friend of Seifū Yohei I and one of the best calligraphers from the end of the Edo period.⁸⁰

Biographies of Seifū Yohei I in *Torishirabesho* and *Meikarekihōroku* end here and do not mention the last decade of his career. Only Mashimizu Zōroku II's account mentions the last years of Seifū Yohei I.

Seifū Yohei I was a student of Ninnami Dōhachi... Because he produced copies of Dōhachi kiln for a long time, he was estranged from Dōhachi. During the Ansei era, he moved and built a small kiln at the back of his house. The kiln only made smoke but did not produce any ceramics. The kiln was later destroyed.⁸¹

During the Ansei era (1854-59), the relationship between Dōhachi and Seifū Yohei I experienced a crisis. Zōroku claims that Seifū Yohei I worked in the same style as the Dōhachi kiln. The above examples clearly confirm this aspect. Not only stoneware works, but also versions of Ming Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, too, were the Dōhachi family's forte (fig. 1-19, 20). Seifū Yohei I always produced ceramic wares by following instructions from his master. It must have been rather difficult for him not to produce works in the Dōhachi style. Ninnami Dōhachi retired and moved to Fushimi Momoyama in 1842 (Tenpō

⁸⁰ For the tea cup, Kaioku took the last two verses of a poem by Tang scholar Liu Yuxi (772-842): 「欲知花乳冷味、須是眠雲跂石人」 'I would like to know the cold taste of tea, everyone who tasted it could sleep on a cloud and stand on tiptoe on a stone.'

⁸¹ 「初代清風與平は仁阿彌道八の門下にして五條坂の佛師北側町に家を構へ、道八焼の模造をしてみたこと久しく道八と不仲となり、安政年代に佛師上之町に移つて自家の裏に小窯を開いて焼く處煙熏り、遂に品は焼けずして窯を毀す。」 (Mashimizu 1935, 62).

13) (fig. 1-21), but use of the Dōhachi styles was never considered as a problem. It began after the death of Ninnami Dōhachi in 1855 (Ansei 2) and Takahashi Dōhachi III (1811-79)⁸² took over the Dōhachi family (fig. 1-22). It was probably the case that Dōhachi III took advantage of an opportunity to get rid of Seifū Yohei I, who was successfully working in the Dōhachi family's style.

As a result, Yohei I was forced to move to a new place in the district. The separation and loss of support from the Dōhachi family was a crucial problem for Seifū Yohei I. The kiln was the first and most important issue. The Kyoto ceramic community used to have a *kamakabu* system. The system, which was certainly established by the end of the seventeenth century in Seto, limits the number of climbing kilns in the area in order to avoid overproduction.⁸³ Other ceramic centres such as Tokoname, Mino, Arita and Kyoto introduced it during the eighteenth century. Nakanodō argues that the system protected the vulnerable status of potters when it was introduced. However, it later worked to increase the privilege of a few who controlled the kilns and prevented new people from coming into the field.⁸⁴ The Dōhachi family was one of the main owners of the kiln in Kyoto. Potters who did not own a kiln were required to borrow space in one of the kilns to fire their products. Seifū Yohei I was supposedly using the Dōhachi kiln before their relationship experienced a crisis. This was most likely the reason why Yohei I moved and built a small kiln for himself. The kiln ended up in failure, and he could not produce any porcelain wares for the last five or so years of his life.

⁸² Takahashi Dōhachi III worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He was the oldest son of Ninnami Dōhachi. In 1842, he succeeded the headship of the family and became Takahashi Dōhachi III. In 1865 (Keiō 1), he was given the Buddhist rank of Hokkyō by Ninna-ji no miya (Prince Ninna-ji). He taught ceramic production at the San-gama kiln of Takamatsu domain and overglaze enamelling technique in Arita. In 1874, he passed the Dōhachi title to his oldest son, moved to Momoyama and continued as a potter.

⁸³ It was also necessary to maintain forestry and supplies for firing so that the area was not depleted of resources.

⁸⁴ Nakanodō 1997, 24-27.

Seifū Yohei II (1845-78)

Seifū Yohei II succeeded to the family in 1861 at the death of his father, Yohei I.

Unfortunately the records on Seifū Yohei II are even more limited than those on his father.

Seifū Yohei III introduces Seifū Yohei II in *Torishirabesho*.

Yohei II called himself Gokei. He was born in Kōka 2 (1845) and died in Meiji 11 (1878). He succeeded in his father's business and mainly produced various porcelain wares. Yohei II also introduced the low relief technique on white porcelain wares. In Bunkyū 1 (1861), Katsura no miya (Princess Katsura), who resided in the palace, ordered from him porcelain wares with the chrysanthemum crest.⁸⁵ In Meiji 6 (1873), he became a purveyor to the industrial centre of Kyoto prefecture. He studied under the painter Maeda Chōdō (1817-78).⁸⁶ As he enjoyed painting throughout his life, some of his works incorporate his paintings. Gokei did not have any son and made his nephew his heir.⁸⁷

Meikarekihōroku does not provide any additional information.⁸⁸

Seifū Yohei II was born when Yohei I was forty-three or forty-four years old. That was when Yohei I was in Kyoto and a few years before working for the Mushiage-yaki kiln. Yohei II could not see his father's contribution to the kiln. Yohei I died in 1861 when Yohei II was still seventeen or eighteen years old.

Both *Torishirabesho* and *Meikarekihōroku* lack any account of how Yohei II managed to regain status in the Kyoto ceramic field for a short period. Mashimizu Zōroku II

⁸⁵ Katsura no miya Sumiko naishinnō (Princess Sumiko of Katsura) (1829-1881) is the third princess of Emperor Ninkō (1800-1846). It is extremely rare for a princess to take over the headship of a family.

⁸⁶ Maeda Handen or Chōdō was born in Handen, Awa, and worked in Kyoto. He studied painting under Maruyama School painter Nakajima Raishō (1796-1871), and literati-Style painter Yamamoto Baiitsu. He is known for landscape and bird-and-flower painting.

⁸⁷ 「二代與平ハ五溪ト號ス弘化二年ニ生レ明治十一年卒ス父ノ業ヲ承テ専ラ各種ノ磁器ヲ製ス又新タニ白磁浮起紋ノ諸器ヲ作ル文久元年禁裏御所桂宮ノ命ヲ蒙リ菊花御紋附ノ磁器調進ス明治六年府命ヲ受ケ勸業御用係リ拝命ス常ニ畫ヲ好ミ前田暢堂師ノ門ニ入り学フ依テ製スル所ノ器ニ全氏ノ書画器物アリ五溪ハ嗣ナシ甥ヲ以テ嗣トス」 (Seifū Yohei III 1887). The information on Seifū Yohei II in *Fuken tōki enkaku tōkō dentōshi* is less in contents, but it gives more information on the issue of the handing over the Seifū Yohei title to Seifū Yohei III.

⁸⁸ The birth year of Seifū Yohei II in *Meikarekihōroku* is 1844 (Kōka 1), not 1845. As all the other documents record 1845, the birth year of Seifū Yohei II in *Meikarekihōroku*, is probably a misprint.

again provides an answer to the question.

Yohei II was a wise man. He was reconciled with the Dōhachi family and was able to fire blue-and-white porcelain. Yohei II was extremely good at making porcelain wares and was allowed to fire in the kiln of Kiyomizu Shichibei I (dates unknown).⁸⁹

According to Zōroku II, Yohei II was firstly reconciled with the Dōhachi family, or Takahashi Dōhachi III. It probably became possible because Yohei II was married to Kiyomizu Miyo (dates unknown), a daughter of Kiyomizu Rokubei III (1820-83).⁹⁰

Kiyomizu Rokubei I founded the ceramic business as early as the Ansei era (1764-72) and the Kiyomizu family was one of the most powerful ceramic families in the area.⁹¹ Only two families owned two kilns in the area in the early Meiji era and the Kiyomizu family was one of them.⁹² By making kinship with the Kiyomizu family, Yohei II was able not only to have a kiln to fire ceramics again, but also to avoid unfavourable troubles with the Takahashi Dōhachi family.

When Seifū Yohei I passed away in 1861 (Bunkyū 1), Yohei II was commissioned to provide porcelain wares of *kinrande*-style for Princess Katsura. This event suggests that Yohei II had already restored the relationship with the Dōhachi family and had started to produce works with Kiyomizu Shichibei I soon after he succeeded to the family.⁹³ Kiyomizu

⁸⁹ 「二代與平は知者であつて道八と仲直りをして、染附を焼いたが随分と上手であつて與平は清水七兵衛の窯へ聯合をして品を入れて焼いた。」(Mashimizu 1935, 62). Kiyomizu Shichibei I worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He was the oldest son of Kiyomizu Rokubei II, but the Rokubei family was succeeded by his younger brother. He became independent and called himself Shichibei.

⁹⁰ Kiyomizu Rokubei III worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He was the second son of Kiyomizu Rokubei II. He succeeded the headship of the family in 1838 (Tenpo 9). Between 1855 and 1858, Rokubei III worked for the Kotō-yaki kiln. After the Meiji Restoration in 1873, he became a Kyoto-fu Kangyō-jō Goyō with Seifū Yohei II. He won prizes at national and international exhibitions.

⁹¹ Kiyomizu Rokubei I started a ceramic business in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district during the Ansei era. Rokubei I studied ceramics under Ebisei and he has continue to be the leading ceramic family in Kyoto. The current head is Kiyomizu Rokubei VIII (b.1954).

⁹² Twenty climbing kilns are listed in *Kyoto tōjikisetsu* (Stoneware and Porcelain in Kyoto), which was compiled by Gottfried Wagener in 1872 in preparation for the international exposition in Vienna in 1873. Most of the kilns were shared with two or more (up to five) potters. Seifū Yohei is listed under the name of Kiyomizu Shichibei (Kyoto-fu 1872, 4-5).

⁹³ Kiyomizu Shichibei I and Seifū Yohei II were both known as heavy drinkers as were many other

Shichibei I, his uncle-in-law, allowed Yohei II to fire porcelain in his kiln. By changing sides from the Takahashi family to the Kiyomizu family, Seifū Yohei II acquired artistic and technological information from both families. From this point of view, Seifū Yohei II was an opportunist, but made a quick comeback in the ceramic community.

Kiyomizu Shichibei I and II (b. 1845) were famous for late Ming style blue-and-white porcelain, which often shows their skill in Japanese literati-style painting. Chinese landscape and bird-and-flower subjects are often drawn with thick dark cobalt blue (fig. 1-23). The work of Seifū Yohei II shares many aspects in common with the work of the Kiyomizu Shichibei family.

In addition, the work of Yohei II displays his close connection to *sencha* and literati culture.⁹⁴ Two bowls by Yohei II are the late Ming style blue-and-white porcelain (fig. 1-24, 25). His training under literati painter Maeda Handen, or Chōdō, is shown by the overglaze polychrome decoration on a set of tea cups (fig. 1-26, 27). In addition, a set of two *sencha* teacups in the Jim Heusinger Collection is an important key to authenticate works by Seifū Yohei II, because the original box is intact and there are two seals and signatures attributed to Seifū Yohei II (fig. 1-28).

Along with porcelain wares in Ming Chinese porcelain style, Seifū Yohei II developed another category of ceramic in the last years of his short career. Japan had begun international trade with Western nations certainly after 1858 (Ansei 5). The opening of the Port of Kobe in 1868 opened up the possibility of international trade for the Kyoto ceramic industry.⁹⁵ Seifū Yohei II was one of the first potters in Kyoto who turned his attention to the foreign market.

Around the same time, Seifū Yohei II discovered a fifteen-year-old young man,

Japanese literati-style painters. Shichibei I was not allowed to succeed to the Rokubei title because of it even though he was the oldest son of Kiyomizu Rokubei II. Seifū Yohei II died young because of drinking. Furthermore, Seifū Yohei II and Kiyomizu Shichibei II were born in the same year and brought up in the same neighbourhood.

⁹⁴ The issue of *sencha* and the Seifū family will be discussed in Chapter Five.

⁹⁵ The role of the Kobe port will be discussed in Chapter Three.

Okada Heikichi, who later became Seifū Yohei III. He had been trained as a painter in Osaka. In 1866, Okada Heikichi was adopted into the family and began working on pictorial decorations at Seifū Yohei II's workshop. Heikichi was talented and was allowed to marry Seifū Kuma (dates unknown)⁹⁶, a younger sister of Yohei II in 1872. He was given a new name, Shinkai Seizan, and the couple moved to a house next door.⁹⁷ As will be discussed later in this chapter, Shinkai Seizan continued to work for the Seifū workshop throughout the 1870's.

Hakurankai hinpyōroku was published after the First Kyoto Exhibition in 1872.⁹⁸ Kyoto Prefecture invited foreigners residing in Kobe and asked their opinion of their industrial products. Two foreign specialists, Hay from the United States, and Léon Dury (1822-91) from France, reviewed ceramic wares.⁹⁹ A coffee set by Seifū Yohei II was included (fig. 1-29). The cup had two red *kinrande* bands in the *karakusa* (arabesque) pattern on the top and bottom and the saucer was undecorated.¹⁰⁰ The American judge gave a good review of the vase:

The colour of the gold is quite elegant and is the best among all exhibits.¹⁰¹

The success at the exhibition and his influential position in the Kyoto ceramic field meant Seifū Yohei II was chosen for an important post. In 1873, he became a Kyoto-fu Kangyōjō Goyōgakari (purveyor to the Industrial Centre of Kyoto prefecture). The centre was established to promote the development and modernisation of the industries in Kyoto.

⁹⁶ Seifū Kuma won a female artist prize for her porcelain vase at Exposition Universelle 1900 in Paris. (National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo 1997, 275).

⁹⁷ Yoshida 1935, 41.

⁹⁸ See Chapter Two for details of the exhibition.

⁹⁹ The details of Hay are not known. Léon Dury taught French in Tokyo and Kyoto in the early Meiji era.

¹⁰⁰ *Kinrande* ware is a group of porcelain ware with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze red, green, blue with gold leaf, produced in the Jiajing era (1522-66) in Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province. Sometimes gold leaf is applied over white porcelain. As the gold leaf pattern resembles kinran (gold brocade), this style is called *kinrande* (gold brocade style). It was produced as a high-quality popular ware in China. In the seventeenth century, *kinrande* wares were imported to Japan and the style became extremely popular among masters of *chanoyu*.

¹⁰¹ 「へー氏曰金色太タ佳ナリ場中之ヲ以第一トナス」 (Kyoto Hakurankaisha 1873, 5).

Moreover, Seifū Yohei II became involved in one of the national projects in the industrial arts as one of the leading potters of Kyoto. Between 1875 and 1881, the Seihin Gazu Gakari (Products Design Section) and Hakurankai Jimukyoku (Exposition Secretariat) produced product designs of various media such as ceramics, cloisonné, metal works, lacquer works, wooden carvings and leather wares. It has been suggested that the government used *Onchizuroku* in order to supervise designs of export products in order to expand the foreign trade. Some designs were used to create works exhibited at NIE I and II and the international expositions in Philadelphia 1876 and Paris 1878.¹⁰² Three designs for vases of Seifū Yohei II were included in *Onchizuroku* (fig. 1-30). There are three seals on the bottom right hand corner with the inscriptions *kōtei* (design), *zuga* (painting) and *hoshu* (assistant), respectively. The three seals show that three different individuals worked on the designs and confirm that two of the designs were not by Seifū Yohei II. An inscription on the bottom left-hand corner reads, 'Kyoto fuka, Tōki-shi Seifū Yohei zō' 京都府下 陶器師 清風與平造, (Kyoto Prefecture, potter Seifū Yohei made). It shows that at least four people were involved in the production of the two vases. One vase has polychrome overglaze enamels in a design of flowers and rocks and two distinctive handles in the shape of a dragon-like creature. The other vase has the same polychrome overglaze enamels in a design of a crane feeding two young cranes under a pine tree.

Both vases' whereabouts are unknown, but it is likely that these were once produced. The inscription states that Seifū Yohei made them, and a number of works by other artists from *Onchizuroku* have survived (fig. 1-31). A vase by Seifū Yohei II in the British Museum shares a number of characteristics with the two vases (fig. 1-32). The vase was acquired by Augustus Wollaston Franks (1826-97) in circa 1880.¹⁰³ The naturalistic manner

¹⁰² Tokyo National Museum 1997b, 13-30 and 2004, 44-45.

¹⁰³ British antiquarian Augustus Wollaston Franks was the Keeper of British and Medieval Antiquities of the British Museum for over forty years and greatly contributed to the formation of its collections. He had a wide array of interests, ranging from archaeology, history, and ethnography to oriental

of the overglaze enamel decoration has a similar painting style to the designs in *Onchizuroku*. The base is covered with *kinrande* decoration. The vase stands as if it sits on top of a stand, but it is made as one piece. The height of the British Museum vase is 38.0 centimetres and of the two vases in *Onchizuroku* was both 1 shaku 2 sun, equivalent to 36.36 centimetres. Considering these similarities, the British Museum vase was probably made in the same period under similar circumstances as the two *Onchizuroku* vases.

The last work attributed to Seifū Yohei II among the illustrations in *Onchizuroku* is a painting of a plum blossom in white ink (fig. 1-30). The painting is different from the other two designs because Seifū Yohei's seal is found at the bottom right hand corner. It suggests that the painting was by Seifū Yohei II himself. A pair of white vases in the collection of the Victoria and Albert Museum shares the same design with the painting (fig. 1-33).¹⁰⁴ This pair was among the pieces collected by the Ministry of Education (Monbushō) with help from Ahrens & Co., a German trading company in Tsukiji, for the 1876 Centennial Exposition of Philadelphia. The collection was assembled in order to show foreigners the full sweep of the history of Japanese ceramics from the Jōmon period up to the present.¹⁰⁵ All 216 items were purchased by the Victoria and Albert Museum and sent to London after the exposition ended. The pair was therefore chosen as representative of Japanese ceramics of the 1870's. In the *List of Objects in the Art Division, South Kensington Museum, Acquired During the Year 1877, Arranged According to the Dates of Acquisition, with Index and Appendix*, the pair is described as it was when accessioned.

antiquities and collected many antiquities from Europe, Asia, and Oceania to Africa. He published *Japanese Pottery: Being a Native Report with an Introduction and Catalogue*, based on Japanese ceramic collection of the British Museum. Director of the Society of Antiquaries. See Rousmaniere 2000-2001 and 2002b for further details about Franks. .

¹⁰⁴ Jahn 2004, 255.

¹⁰⁵ According to the archivist at the Victoria and Albert Museum, the museum records on the objects state that 'The Japanese Pottery 160-374 & 446 constitutes a collection made by order of the Japanese Government at the suggestion & request of the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education. It was exhibited at the Philadelphia Exhibition, 1876. The collection cost £600.' See also Rousmaniere 2000-2001, 85.

Flower Vase... White porcelain, embossed with plum tree in blossom. Blue marks painted on the foot. Specimen of "Kiyomidsu" ware, made by Sei-fu. Japanese. AD.1875...Bought 7l. 7s. the pair.¹⁰⁶

The plum blossoms are painted in white in the manner of the Japanese literati-style school as it again confirms his painting background. Seifū Yohei III noted that Seifū Yohei II invented this low relief technique, shown on the surface of this vase in 1866 (Keiō 2).¹⁰⁷ He was one of nine Kyoto potters whose works were chosen by the Ministry of Education for the Philadelphia Exposition.¹⁰⁸ The inclusion of three of Seifū Yohei II's works in *Onchizuroku* suggests his regional importance and his recognition has reached the national level.

In 1878, Seifū Yohei II passed away. Without having a son, he had adopted his nephew, the oldest son of Shinkai Seizan (Seifū Yohei III), to the Seifū family.¹⁰⁹ However, Seizan was only eight years old and was not ready to take over the family when Yohei II fell seriously ill.¹¹⁰ One day, Yohei II called Shinkai Seizan to his deathbed. *Torishirabeshō* records Seifū Yohei III's memory of the day.

Meiji 10 (1877), the second generation, Gokei (Yohei II) became seriously ill. One day, he told me, 'I succeeded in my father's business. It is unfortunate that I have fallen ill and there is little hope for recovery when the bright future is in front of me. If you succeed and try to keep the fame of the Seifū family, I will have no worries in the land of the dead after my death.' Then, I promised to look after the family and continue the business.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁶ Victoria and Albert Museum 1877, 34-35. Charles H. Read compiled another list of the collection entitled *Catalogue of an Historical Collection of Japanese Pottery & Porcelain in the South Kensington Museum (Philadelphia Exhibition 1876)*. He illustrated the pair and described: 'Hana-ike: Pair of flower vases, porcelain, with long oviform bodies and spreading mouths; the whole surface of each covered with a prunus tree in bloom, in raised outline. Made by Sei-fu at Kiyomizsu, Kyoto, 1875.' (fig. 1-34).

¹⁰⁷ Seifū 1887.

¹⁰⁸ Works by Takahashi Dōhachi, Eiraku Zengorō, Kanzan Denshichi, Ōtagaki Rengetsu, Seifū Yohei II, Tanzan Seikai, Kinkozan Sōbei, Ogata Shinsho and Hirai Ikkan were included in the selection. (Victoria and Albert Museum 1877, 12-35, 50-53 and 67).

¹⁰⁹ Seifū Yohei II gave this son the potter name, Baikai 梅溪. Baikai became Seifū Yohei IV in 1914, but called himself Seizan 成山.

¹¹⁰ Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku and Kōmukyoku 1886, 9.

¹¹¹ 「明治十年二代五溪病ニ係ルー日余ニ話シテ曰ク吾レ家父ノ業ヲ受ケ前途有望ノ際不幸病ニ遇シ命覺束無トス予継テ元家清風ノ名誉ヲ計ラハ吾レ没後ト雖モ泉下ニ安然タラント於是後見続業ノ盟ヲナス」 (Seifū 1887).

In *Meikarekihōroku*, Seifū Yohei III recalls the events:

I declined (Seifū II's favour) once, but he did not listen. After he passed away, I finally agreed to take over the Seifū family.¹¹²

Yohei III explains the event as if he did not want to take over the Seifū title. Mashimizu

Zōroku II again gives a slightly different insight into the event:

Yohei II was a heavy drinker and died in his early 30's. It was around 1879 (Meiji 12). He had a wife, Miyo, who was a daughter of Rokubei and was an honest person, had four children and was wealthy. Because of the fortune, the relatives had a dispute, but it is not related to ceramics and so I omit the story of the dispute. Shinkai Heikichi (Seizan) became Yohei III and took over the family. The wife and daughters of Yohei II were transferred to other families.¹¹³

This does not explain what happened exactly, but it appears that the succession of the title

did not pass from one potter to another as smoothly as Seifū Yohei III had implied.

Eventually, Yohei III, his wife Kuma and his oldest son were transferred to the Seifū family and his other children stayed in the Shinkai family.¹¹⁴

The lives of the first and second generations of Seifū Yohei have displayed a number of issues related to studies of Japanese potters from the Early Modern to beginning of the Modern period. It demonstrates the difficulty in keeping family reputations throughout the generations. Social status in the local industrial community always directly affected the choice of styles of potters more than previously recognised. Considering Seifū Yohei I's

¹¹² 「私も一旦は辞はりましたが、どうも聞入ませんから、其死后になつて遂に、清風の本家を継ぐことになりました」 (Kuroda 1899, 29).

¹¹³ 「與平は大酒家であり遂に三十歳を過ぎて病歿した。明治十二年前後のころであつた。妻をみよと云ひ六兵衛の娘で正しき人にして子が四人あつて金も澤山あつた。それが為に親戚より紛議を起したが紛議の話は長くて陶器としては用はないからこれを略す。新開平吉が三代與平となつて清風の後を嗣ぐ。二代清風の妻も娘も他に轉籍をした。」 (Mashimizu 1935, 62-63).

¹¹⁴ Two sons and five daughters of Seifū Yohei III stayed in the Shinkai family. The third son of Seifū Yohei III, Rokurō, took over the headship of the family. The Shinkai family still works in the ceramic field.

non-artistic background, he had a successful career. Seifū Yohei I was extremely fortunate to be able to learn from Ninami Dōhachi, because access to cutting edge technologies in ceramic production was limited. As Tanzan Seikai (1813-87)¹¹⁵, who was one of the Kyoto potters of the early Meiji era, once described the situation:

The method of ceramic production was passed onto the next generation orally, and there were not any instruction books in the past.¹¹⁶

Although instruction books certainly existed such as *Tōkishinan* (*Textbook of Ceramics*) by Kinkodō Kamesuke (1765-1837)¹¹⁷, access to those books was limited. Accessibility to ceramic technology was the crucial part of their survival. However, just one dispute with Takahashi Dōhachi III almost finished Seifū Yohei I's career as a potter in Kyoto.

Seifū Yohei II had the same problem as his father. By making a relationship with the Kiyomizu family, he restored the relationship with the Dōhachi family. The relationship with other ceramic families limited the style of ware Seifū Yohei II was able to produce. It was probably one of the reasons why he started working on wares for the new foreign markets – both Chinese and Western –, which offered much potential. It was also an area where he did not need to interfere with the existing businesses of other important potters in the district.

Seifū Yohei III (1851-1914)

Unlike the first two generations of Seifū Yohei, many accounts of Seifū Yohei III survive from his time, showing his importance as a potter. The earliest account is again in

¹¹⁵ Tanzan Seikai worked in the Awataguchi district. He was born in Kumano of Tango domain and established a ceramic kiln in 1851.

¹¹⁶ 「我国古今ノ陶製口占ヲ以相傳ス故ニ授受ノ法書曾テ無シ」 (Tanzan 1879, preface).

¹¹⁷ Kinkodō Kamesuke studied ceramics under Okuda Eisen (1753-1811) and later helped the Sanda kiln, the Ōjiyama kiln, the Nanki otokoyama kiln and the Zuishi kiln. He was known for his molded piece and distinctive celadon glaze. He published a textbook on ceramic production *Tōki shinan*.

Fuken tōki enkaku tōkō dentōshi and *Torishirabesho* written by Seifū Yohei III himself dated 1886 and 1887, respectively. Many biographical accounts and illustrations of his works were published throughout his lifetime and even after his death in 1914. All the following information in relation to Seifū Yohei III is from the accounts from the period contemporary to Yohei III: *Fuken tōkienkaku tōkōdentōshi*¹¹⁸; *Torishirabesho*¹¹⁹; ‘Seifū Yohei kun’ (Mr Seifū Yohei)¹²⁰; ‘Teishitsu gigei’in Seifū Yohei shi rireki’ (Biography of Teishitsu gigei’in Seifū Yohei)¹²¹; *Meikarekihōroku*¹²²; and ‘Kyoto bijutsu enkakushi’ (History of Art in Kyoto).¹²³ The artist himself provided the large portion of information in these accounts.

In addition, there are several important accounts after the death of the artist. Most of these were by individuals who knew Seifū Yohei III in personally: *Ikkaisairoku* (Biographical Anthology of Famous People 2),¹²⁴ ‘Kyoto to sono meikō ni tsuite’ (Kyoto and its Artists),¹²⁵ *Tōki hyakuwa* (One Hundred Stories of Ceramics),¹²⁶ ‘Awata-yaki Kiyomizu-yaki’,¹²⁷ *Kokon kyōgama deichū kanwa*¹²⁸ and ‘Sandai Seifū Yohei ni kansuru

¹¹⁸ Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku and Shōmukyoku 1886: *Fuken tōki enkaku tōkō dentōshi* was published by the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1886 and is one of a series of reports on the domestic industry.

¹¹⁹ Seifū 1887: *Torishirabesho* was handed into Kyoto Prefecture in 1887 by Seifū Yohei III for the purpose of assembling information on all the ceramic families in the prefecture. The original copy is in the Tokyo National Museum.

¹²⁰ Shinoda 1892: ‘Seifū Yohei kun’ was included in *Nihon shin gōketsu den* (New Heroes of Japan) by Shinoda Shōsaku.

¹²¹ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1893b: ‘Teishitsu gigei’in Seifū Yohei shi rireki’ was published in the *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi* to announce the designation of Seifū Yohei III as the first potter *teishitsu gigei’in*.

¹²² Kuroda 1899: *Meikarekihōroku* is based on a series of interviews of artists in Kyoto by the journalist Kuroda Tengai (dates unknown). Seifū Yohei III was one of the interviewees included in the book.

¹²³ Kamisaka 1902: ‘Kyoto bijutsu enkakushi’ was compiled by the painter Kamisaka Sekka (1866-1943) and published in serial form in *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi*.

¹²⁴ Seifū Yohei IV 1920: *Ikkaisairoku* is based on a series of interviews of artists in Kyoto by the journalist Kuroda Tengai. Seifū Yohei IV was one of the interviewees included in the book.

¹²⁵ Watanabe 1930: ‘Kyoto to sono meikō ni tsuite’ was published in serial form in the *Journal Toshi to geijutsu* (City and Art).

¹²⁶ Ōta 1935: *Tōki hyakuwa* is a compilation of memories of ceramic scholar Ōta Yoshihisa. Ōta knew a number of leading potters personally and wrote a short article about Seifū Yohei III.

¹²⁷ Yoshida 1935: *Tōki kōza* is a book in serial form extensively on ceramics. The fifth volume is dedicated to ceramics in the Western part of Japan. Yoshida Takabumi (b. 1908) was the head of the Yoshida family of Omote senke in Nagoya. His relationship with Seifū Yohei III is unknown.

¹²⁸ Mashimizu 1935: *Kokon kyōgama deichū kanwa* was written by Kyoto potter Mashimizu Zōroku II. The book is based on memories of the author who spent his life in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He

ryakureki' (Biography of Seifū Yohei III).¹²⁹ Furthermore, in 'The Porcelain-Artists of Japan' in *Harper's Weekly* published in New York on January 22, 1898, Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore (1856-1928) wrote about a number of ceramic artists in Japan including Seifū Yohei III.¹³⁰ This is a rare example of a foreigner interviewing the potter. Based on these primary and secondary materials, the following discussion re-examines the ceramic production and artistic creation of the third generation of Seifū Yohei in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, Kyoto.

Okada Heikichi Period (1851-72)

Seifū Yohei III was born on the tenth day of the second month, 1851 (Kaei 4), in the coastal town of Ōshio-mura, Inami-gun, Harima-koku as second son of the Maruyama School painter, Okada Ryōhei or Tokuhō (dates unknown).¹³¹ His given name was Heikichi. As a young boy, Heikichi liked sketching from nature and playing *igo*. In 1863 (Bunkū 3), Heikichi told his father about his interest in painting. He was soon sent to Imabashi in Osaka, in order to have formal training in painting by the Japanese literati-style painter Tanomura Shōko (1814-1907). Tanomura Shōko is better known as Tanomura Chokunyū, who was an adopted son of literati-style painter Tanomura Chikuden (1777-1835).¹³²

provides valuable inside stories about the area including the short account of the Seifū family.

¹²⁹ This short manuscript is by Shinkai Kanzan (b. 1912), son of Shinkai Rokurō who was the son of Seifū Yohei III. Photocopy of the original document given by Professor Nakanodō Kazunobu.

¹³⁰ Scidmore 1898. American travel writer who specialised in articles on Asia. Scidmore visited Japan several times between 1885 and 1929. She was born in Madison, Wisconsin, in the USA. She was a sister of a diplomat in the Far East and was able to travel areas inaccessible to ordinary travellers. She wrote articles and books on her experiences in Japan. She is known for planting Japanese cherry trees in Washington DC.

¹³¹ Okada Tokuhō's painting is not known, but there is a photograph of calligraphy by Tokuhō in the Okada family collection (fig. 1-35). This poem, *Sekihēkifu* (The Red Cliffs), is by Su Shi (1037-1101) from the Song dynasty.

¹³² Tanomura Chikuden is a painter of literati-style painting. He was a son of a doctor in the small town of Taketa of Oka domain in Bungo. He studied Confucianism and became a tutor at the age of twenty-two. He participated in the editing of *Bungo kokushi* (History of Bungo). He travelled around Japan and later became known as one of leading literati scholars. He was a friend of Uragami Gyokudō, Shinozaki Shōchiku, Moku Bei and Rai Sanyō. He is known for Chinese style paintings, with their

Chokunyū was born in 1814 (Bunka 11) in Bungo. Having studied Kanō school painting, he entered Chikuden-sō, Tanomura Chikuden's school, and studied painting, Tang poetry and Kokugaku (National Learning). Chikuden admired his talent and Chokunyū was adopted into the Tanomura family. In 1834 (Tenpō 5), following Chikuden, Chokunyū moved to Osaka. He studied Yōmeigaku (Wang Yangming School Confucianism), martial arts and poetry. Chikuden passed away the following year. In 1840 (Tenpō 11), Chokunyū became an independent literati-style painter.

Having apprenticed to Tanomura Chokunyū for about two years, Heikichi developed beriberi and returned home in winter of 1865. Despite Heikichi's will to continue training, his father Tokuhō was too worried to send his son back to Osaka. Although his time in Osaka was for two years, the relationship between Chokunyū and Heikichi continued throughout Heikichi's artistic career.¹³³ The following year, a ceramic dealer named Tanaka visited Tokuhō and explained that the famous potter Seifū in Kyoto was looking for a young painter interested in ceramics.¹³⁴ Heikichi was interested and Tokuhō agreed to send him to Kyoto. Heikichi began learning skills to draw and to paint on stoneware and porcelain. He soon realised the importance of knowing ceramic production in order to master ceramics. However, it was not easy to learn different processes as he was working at painting and doing housework for the family. He tried to find intervals between working hours in summer and sleeping time at night in winter to develop skills.¹³⁵ Having worked hard for seven years, Heikichi became fully capable of making ceramics. In 1872, Seifū Yohei II allowed Heikichi to become an independent potter by marrying Seifū Kuma, a younger sister of Yohei II. Shinkai was his new family name and he changed his first name to Seizan. The couple

compositions carefully built with layers of delicate colour and fine brushwork.

¹³³ The relationship between Seifū Yohei III and Tanomura Chokunyū will be discussed in detail in Chapters Four and Five.

¹³⁴ The details of Tanaka are not known.

¹³⁵ 「氏謂ラク、陶磁ノ業タル、先ツ器地ノ製作、焼窯ノ方法ヲ修メ、傍ラ畫ヲ為スヘキモノナリト、此ヨリ専ラ工作製造ノ業ヲ励ミ、晝間或ハ家事ヲ理シ、又業ヲ助クルノコトアリテ、意ノ如ク己カ欲スル處ノ業ヲ修メ難シ、故ニ夏季ハ休憩ノ時間ヲ以テシ、冬季ハ夜ヲ以テ之レニ充テ、殆ト寢食ヲ忘レ、深更ニ至ルマデ勵精シ餘念ナシ」(Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1893b, 14).

moved to a neighbouring house, located on the east side of the workshop of Seifū Yohei II.

Shinkai Seizan Period (1872-circa 1880)

From 1872 to circa 1880, Seifū Yohei III worked as an independent potter using the art name Shinkai Seizan. 'Kyoto bijutsu enkakushi' describes this period of his life:

[Shinkai Seizan] pursued ceramics and concentrated on experiments in producing ancient Chinese celadon and blue-and-white porcelain. [Shinkai Seizan] soon acquired high level skills and suddenly became famous in the art world.¹³⁶

However, his activity during the period is not clear, since only a handful works signed or sealed as Seizan are known. Two works are in the collection of Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. A tea bowl bears the Seizan mark in stylised script (fig. 1-36). A small teapot also bears the Seizan mark in cursive script (fig. 1-37). The last stoneware example is in a private collection in Japan. A set of five lotus-shaped dishes has the name of his master, Chokunyū (fig. 1-38). From the observation of the surface, the three stoneware works are made with a similar type of clay. Porcelain ware with the Shinkai Seizan mark is even rarer. A pair of two *sencha* teacups in a bamboo basket case is one of a few examples (fig. 1-39).¹³⁷

Seifū Yohei III explained the reason for the scarcity of his work. In *Torishirabesho*, he stated:

In Meiji 5 (1872), started family and called myself Seizan. I mainly studied blue-and-white and white porcelain of Japan and China and Ninsei, Kenzan and Moku Bei styles. Also I produced stoneware works. Following the fashion at the time, I produced wares in these styles. I thought making fakes was disgraceful and then started to seal or carve my name on my works. During the difficult time for the business, I dauntlessly worked to maintain

¹³⁶ 「奮起製陶ヲ為シ支那古代ノ青磁、青華ニ仿ヒ其試作ニ丹精ヲ凝ラシ、幾ント其妙域ニ達ス之ニ由ツテ忽然藝苑界ニ其名號ヲ騰ク」 (Kamisaka 1902, 78).

¹³⁷ The other cup is made by Inoue Shōhei (1830-95) and bamboo case is by Hayakawa Shōkosai I (1815-97).

the Seifū workshop.¹³⁸

It is important that he considered the tradition of making fakes as disgraceful and stopped it sometime between 1872 and c. 1880. In *Meikarekihōroku*, he also commented on the issue:

This area [the Kiyomizu-Gojō district] produced many versions of Chinese ceramics at the time around the Meiji Restoration. Those copies were more commonly seen in the market of antique objects than in the market of tea wares. For example, if celadon or white porcelain without any seals were fired well, it was sold as a Chinese ware. In this way, the piece would be able to have a higher price... However, this would just help dealers but not us. I did not like this idea and could not stand doing it. I have opposed it since then.¹³⁹

This comment matches the article by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore in *Harper's Weekly*.

Scidmore visited a number of kilns in Japan in the 1890s and interviewed potters including

Seifū Yohei III:

For years the produce of his [Seifū Yohei III] kilns in crackle and monochrome glazes went directly to China, where they confounded Peking experts, but with the more recent acknowledgement of the skill of other Japanese potters in the same lines these triumphs in classic lines are now signed openly and proudly sold.¹⁴⁰

Combining the three commentaries together, Seifū Yohei III used to produce unsigned versions of Chinese porcelains in the 1870's (when under Seifū Yohei II) for Japanese and Chinese markets, but was one of the first potters in the area who stopped it.¹⁴¹ The last line

of the above quote from *Torishirabesho* is important for this problem. Seifū Yohei III

claimed that he dauntlessly worked to maintain Seifū's business. Therefore, scarcity of works

¹³⁸ 「明治五年一家ヲ創業シ清山ト称シ専ラ和漢青華白磁器及仁清乾山木米等ノ製法ヲ研磨シ土製ノ物ヲ併セ造ル専ラ各種ノ模製ヲ為ス時ノ風潮ニ応スル所ナリ為説模造ノコト潔ヨカラスト是ニ於テ製品ニ名ノ彫刻シ押印ヲ用ユ進途ナスアラントスル際起然清風業続ノ事ニ至ル」 (Seifū 1887).

¹³⁹ 「假令ば青磁でも、白磁でも、此方に立派なのが出来て無銘でムいますと、直に唐物として賣りますので。そうする方が價がよいものでムいますから、(中略) 然し全然で何とやらの力持をするようなもので、私は忌々しく、肝に觸つてなりませんから、其頃より反對を致しました。」 (Kuroda 1899, 27).

¹⁴⁰ Scidmore 1898, 86.

¹⁴¹ See Chapter Three for the issue of Japanese export porcelain to the Chinese market.

by Shinkai Seizan is probably also due to his continuous involvement with the Seifū Yohei workshop. Some of the works that have been attributed to Seifū Yohei II are, in fact, in all likelihood by Seifū III.

In his later years, Seifū Yohei III listed seventy-four techniques in ceramic production he invented during his career and fifty-nine of them have the date of invention.¹⁴² There are nine techniques invented during this six-year 'Shinkai Seizan' period. They include various techniques for clay preparation, decoration and glazing. Some techniques are found on Seifū Yohei II's 1870's works. The sets of cups, rice bowls, small and medium plates in the Jim Heusinger Collection have the decorative motifs and techniques listed as the first innovation: Clay preparation method for *taihaku-ji* (great white porcelain) and *kanpaku-yū* (clean white glaze) and a method for carving and relief decoration (fig. 1-40).¹⁴³ This set is probably by Shinkai Seizan even though the box inscription and signature inside the footring are attributed to Seifū Yohei II. This is also one of the earlier examples of Seifū Yohei III's signature on ivory coloured porcelain. Moreover, he claimed his invention of an ink painting method in 1873.¹⁴⁴ A yellow gourd-shaped vase in a private Japanese collection has Seifū Yohei II's signature, but overglaze ink painting of egrets (fig. 1-41). These works clearly suggest Shinkai Seizan's active role in the production of Seifū Yohei II's workshop in the 1870's. This is probably the main reason for the scarcity of works with Shinkai Seizan marks.

In 1878, Seifū Yohei II passed away. Following the will of Yohei II, Shinkai Seizan took over the family and changed his name to Seifū Yohei III. However, it is not recorded when exactly the succession took place. From the observation of works in this transitional period, it appears there were at least two years before his succession to the title. In 1879, the Seifū family was one of the families commissioned by the Kyoto Prefecture to produce a

¹⁴² Appendix 1-1.

¹⁴³ Appendix 1-1, 1.

¹⁴⁴ Appendix 1-1, 2.

dinner service for American General Ulysses Grant (1822-85)'s visit to Kyoto.¹⁴⁵ All the pieces made were blue-and-white porcelain with flowers and plants (fig. 1-42). Shinkai Seizan made a pair of teacups and saucers dated 1879. This proves that Shinkai Seizan had not succeeded to the Seifū Yohei title even a year after the death of Yohei II. A stemmed porcelain cup with *hyakkanishiki-yū* (polychrome overglaze enamels) is another important example from this 'interregnum' period (fig. 1-43). The two new inventions Seifū Yohei III listed in 1879 and 1880 match decorative features of this cup.¹⁴⁶ Nandin fruits have a mauve glaze and leaves are painted with gold. The cup has the seal of Seifū Yohei II on the bottom (fig. 1-40), but the box inscription states 'Seifū an, Seizan zō (Seizan at the Seifū hermitage)' with a pot-shaped seal 'Seifū'. This box inscription confirms that it was made during the Seizan period. It appears that he had not taken over the title in 1880, even two years after the death of Seifū Yohei II. Another porcelain vase by Seifū Yohei II, in a private collection in Japan, shows cranes flying in the blue sky. It has the same decorative techniques as the stem cup. The mauve colour bands at the top and bottom have *kinrande* decoration (fig. 1-44).¹⁴⁷ All the above examples clearly suggest Seifū Yohei III created a large portion of works with Seifū Yohei II's mark.

Seifū Yohei III Period (circa 1880-1914)

Seifū Yohei III inherited the prestigious name and wealth of the family circa 1880.

When Seifū Yohei III took the name, the wife and daughters of the Seifū Yohei II, were

¹⁴⁵ General Grant's visit was cancelled due to epidemic of smallpox in Kyoto. These pieces were never used and are now in the collection of Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan. General Grant was an American General, who was the eighteenth president of the United States from 1869 to 1877. After the end of his second term as president, Grant travelled the world for two years. In 1879, he visited Japan and met Emperor Meiji and Empress Shōken.

¹⁴⁶ Appendix 1-1, 10 and 11.

¹⁴⁷ The pot-shaped seal on the box of the stem cup is found on boxes of other works. A small square blue-and-white porcelain dish has the seal on lid verso (fig. 1-45). The seal can be found on the boxes of the works discussed above (fig. 1-41, 43). It is too early to connect the pot-shaped seal to Shinkai Seizan, but it is likely that Seifū Yohei II's works with the seal were later works mainly from the 1870s.

disinherited and left the Seifū family.¹⁴⁸ As discussed earlier, the connection with the Kiyomizu family through the marriage with Kiyomizu Miyo protected Seifū Yohei II's vulnerable position in the district. Having lost this connection, Yohei III needed to establish his own distinctive styles and techniques in order to survive the local politics. In three aspects, he distinguished himself from others.

Firstly, Yohei III explored new clay, glaze and decorative techniques with Japanese raw materials.¹⁴⁹ He undertook extensive researches on local clay and stone. He also realised the importance of understanding chemistry in order to enrich the selection of glazes at an early stage of his career. Secondly, he claimed that he always signed or sealed his works.¹⁵⁰ It eventually brought more recognition to the name of Seifū Yohei and to his skills in the production of Chinese-style porcelain. Thirdly, Seifū Yohei III was not disturbed by the foreign dealers' stylistic demands. From about 1880, the Kyoto ceramic industry grew with the rapid expansion of sales to the export ceramic market. Foreign ceramic dealers purchased a large quantity of Japanese ceramics regardless of the quality. He expressed his feelings about how Japanese potters and merchants were treated by foreign merchants.

Our merchants are disgraced and foreign merchants ignore our trade rights. I thought the mass production of inferior ceramics would only create profits for a short time, but would bring a big problem in the future. I decided not to bring them my products (to foreign merchant houses in a concession) to sell. [I thought] they can come to my shop to buy only if my works fit their taste. I mainly kept to this principle, and focus on the improvement of works. As a result, I was unharmed by the recession of the international trade caused by the mass production of inferior products.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁸ Mashimizu 1935, 63. It is now known what exactly happened to Seifū Miyo and Seifū Yohei II's daughters. They were probably returned to the Kiyomizu family. If not, they might have been adopted or married into other families.

¹⁴⁹ The stoneware and porcelain clay Seifū Yohei III used were from Amakusa in Nagasaki, Shigaraki in Shiga and Hinooka in Kyoto. (Nōshōmushō Nōmukyoku and Kōmukyoku 1886, 9).

¹⁵⁰ The only known example of his work without seal or signature is in the Imperial collection (fig. 1-46). The incense burner was one of the set of objects presented by the peerage to Emperor Meiji for celebration of the victory of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) in 1906 (Watanabe 1930, 18). When an object is made especially for the Emperor, a signature or seal is considered a discourtesy and is often omitted. On the wooden lid of the incense burner are two seals and the signature of Seifū Yohei III.

¹⁵¹ 「我商人は非常に外人に屈辱され、商権は全く蹂躪せられて居りますし、殊に粗製濫賣

It is important to point out that Seifū Yohei III was one of those potters who did not need to rely on profits from the foreign trade. He had enough domestic demand for his ceramic wares.¹⁵² These three tactics were to avoid unnecessary conflicts with other potters in Kyoto, but also brought about an important by-product. It distinguished his works from other potters in Kyoto whose main products were either Satsuma *kinrande* ware for export to the West or Chinese Song or Ming style porcelain ware for sale in the existing Japanese market.

Seifū Yohei III produced blue-and-white porcelain and stoneware works with various media from the beginning. Water jar (fig. 1-47) shows his continuation of styles inherited from Seifū Yohei II. Other than these family styles, he pursued experimenting with new techniques and glazes and achieved two of his most important inventions in 1882. In February 1881, he invented *hyōretsu-mon* (crackled pattern) on *hyakka-yū* (polychrome glazes).¹⁵³ A small pink vase with crackled pattern (fig. 1-48) shows both decorative features. This pattern appears repeatedly on his smaller works until the end of his career.

In January 1882, Yohei III developed a firing method of *Hishoku-ji* (*mise* ware) with *kinuta-yū* (celadon glaze typically found among Song Longquan ware) (fig. 1-49). *Mise* ware is a type of celadon thought to have been produced in Yue kilns in the ninth and tenth centuries. Although a number of Chinese accounts recorded its excellence, actual *mise* ware was not known during the time of Yohei. It was on unsolved mystery for a long time until the 1980s when twelve celadon wares labelled as '*mise*' were found in an excavation in China

といふとも、ほんの一時の利益に止まつて、行々は有害をなすとも考へましたから、夫で断然と搬出の念を断ち、若し我製品にして意に適せば、此方の店へ買いに来るがよいと、専ら引つけ主義をとり、一意製品の改良に心を注ぎました處から、其後粗製濫賣から起りました貿易界の恐慌も免がれ、(後略)」(Kuroda 1899, 36). 'Teishitsu gigei' in Seifū Yohei shi rireki' mentions that Seifū Yohei III visited one of the concessions to see foreign ceramic dealers. The place he visited was most likely Kobe Port. Kobe was the closest concession where foreigners were allowed to reside from Kyoto. (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1893b, 18). Gisela Jahn suggests that Seifū Yohei III was influenced by Royal Copenhagen porcelain (Jahn 2005, 262). However, Seifū clearly denied his interests in ceramic wares of Royal Copenhagen in 1899 (Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1899a, 391).

¹⁵² See chapter Five for a discussion of the relationship between Seifū Yohei III and *sencha*.

¹⁵³ Appendix 1-1, 12 and 13.

(fig. 1-50).¹⁵⁴

Seifū Yohei III painted a hanging scroll entitled *Studying ceramics of mise ware and having a discussion* (fig. 1-51). This painting suggests his interest in unlocking the secret of *mise* ware. As depicted in this painting, he studied Chinese celadon wares and discussed with fellow potters and collectors what *mise* –secret coloured– ware looked like. He announced that he recreated *mise* ware, and became known for the distinctive green colour. Itaya Hazan (1872-1963)¹⁵⁵ once commented on Seifū Yohei III's celadon:

Especially [Seifū Yohei III's] celadon shows exquisite workmanship. Seifū's celadon is now highly appreciated in our country.¹⁵⁶

A variety of polychrome and celadon glazes were made throughout his career. These wares were already available for him in his early career.

After succession in 1878, Seifū Yohei III faced an economic crisis. From 1881 for three years, the Japanese economy experienced a historical recession. This recession was caused by an aggressive financial policy introduced from the late 1870s to the early 1880s under the finance ministers Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922)¹⁵⁷ and Matsukata Masayoshi (1835-1924).¹⁵⁸ The impact of this Matsukata Deflation on the market for export and luxury

¹⁵⁴ In August 1981, the octagonal pagoda of Famensi collapsed due to long rain and 121 offerings were discovered in a hidden chamber. Sixteen porcelain wares, fourteen celadon wares and two white porcelain with overglaze decoration, were found. A stone monument, excavated from the same site, inscribed a list of offerings with their name, quantity, size and name of donor. This list described a large number of these celadon wares as 'Ci mise' 瓷秘色 (secret-colour ware). (Imai 1997, 106-107).

¹⁵⁵ Itaya Hazan was born in Ibaraki Prefecture and studied sculpture at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. After teaching sculpture and ceramics at Ishikawa-ken Kōgyō Gakkō, he returned to Tokyo and taught ceramics. In 1904, Hazan built a dome kiln with three fire boxes which was designed by Hirano Kōsuke. He won numerous prizes with his pastel coloured glazes with designs showing strong connections to Art Nouveau. In 1935, Hazan was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in*.

¹⁵⁶ 「殊に青磁は精巧なもので、清風の青磁と云へば、今日我国では有名なものである。」 (Itaya 1911, 21).

¹⁵⁷ Ōkuma Shigenobu was the eighth and seventeenth Prime Minister of Japan (1898, 1914-16).

¹⁵⁸ Matsukata Deflation originated in the financial policy of the Meiji Government and was triggered by the Seinan war in 1877. The aggressive financial policy lead by the financial minister, Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922), was formed to prepare and to improve infrastructure of domestic transportation and finance. Ōkuma took measures to supplement the shortage of a budget by using quantitative monetary easing policy (expansion of the sum of banknotes in the market). Then, the outbreak of the Seinan war brought more pressure on the state budget. The civil war lasted only for

goods was significant. It brought a continuous fall in the profit of manufacturers, and a sharp rise in the exchange rate of the yen resulted in a sudden fall in numbers of orders from foreign dealers.¹⁵⁹ The export ceramic industry was one of the most affected sectors.

Kinkōzan Sōbei VII (1868-1928)¹⁶⁰ described the time:

The recession from 1881 to 1883 almost killed the ceramic industry of this [Awataguchi] district completely. Many potters shut down the business and my father [Kinkōzan Sōbei VI: 1824-1884¹⁶¹] struggled too.¹⁶²

The gross sales of export ceramics in 1881 dropped twenty-six percent in 1884. In Kyoto, the sales dropped forty-three percent during the same period.¹⁶³ Seifū Yohei III claimed that he survived this critical moment without significant damage. Despite the comment, he was not immune to the recession. Around 1882, Kiyomizu Shichibei sold the climbing kiln to Yamamura Chōzan (dates unknown) probably due to financial difficulty due to the

seven months, but the government spent 42 million yen, 27 million yen worth banknotes were issued and 15 million were covered by a loan. Consequently, a serious inflation began in autumn 1879. The fall in the exchange rate of the yen continued until April 1881. The Japanese economy slowly moved toward recession after serious inflation caused by the war. It was this moment that Matsukata Masayoshi became the finance Minister in October 1881. Matsukata introduced a new measure to shift the conversion system to the silver standard. He deliberately downsized the number of banknotes in the market and drastically reduced state expenditure by setting up a strict rule in issuing banknotes to supplement the state budget. This policy of austerity and quantitative monetary tightening accelerated deflation and the recession, famously known as the Matsukata Deflation (Niwa 2005). Matsukata Masayoshi was a samurai of Satsuma domain. He worked for Shimazu Hisamitsu (1817-87) and was quickly promoted to a leading position of the domain. Later, he was in charge of finance for the naval army of the domain. After the Meiji Restoration, Ōkubo Toshimichi promoted him to the central government and Matsukata mostly worked for Ministry of Finance. In 1881, Matsukata became the Financial Minister and proceeded radical measures to reconstruct the financial system of Japan. He was a member of *Genrōin* (the Chamber of Elders).

¹⁵⁹ Appendix 1-2.

¹⁶⁰ Kinkōzan Sōbei VII operated the largest ceramic factory in Kyoto in the Awataguchi district during the Meiji era. He was a son of Kinkōzan Sōbei VI. He succeeded the headship of the family after the death of Sōbei VI in 1884. His main products were Satsuma *kinrande*-style wares to the Western countries. He won numerous prizes at national and international exhibitions and competitions and was one of the leading industrialist of Kyoto.

¹⁶¹ Kinkōzan Sōbei VI succeeded the headship of the family in 1824. He enlarged his factory to the one of the largests in Kyoto and won a number of prizes at exhibitions in the early Meiji era.

¹⁶² 「十四年から十五、十六と三年程續きまして、世間一般の不景氣で、栗田の陶業も殆んど廃絶に歸せん光景で、全業者中にも多く休業致し、亡父も餘程苦心致しましたが。」(Kuroda 1899, 332).

¹⁶³ Fujioka 1962, 28.

recession.¹⁶⁴ It seems that Seifū Yohei III was able to continue using the same kiln. Yohei III did not list any new inventions for two years in 1883 and 1884 although the financial damage was minimal compared to other potters.¹⁶⁵

After the recession, potters in the area realised the importance of the structural change in the industry. They thought the crisis was enhanced by the dissolution of the trade association in Kyoto in 1871.¹⁶⁶ All potters had been forced to work independently and it weakened the ceramic industry as a whole. In the middle of the recession in 1884, Kyoto Prefecture advised local businesses to re-establish a trade association. Seifū Yohei III was recommended as one of the founding directors of Kyoto Tōjiki Shōkō Tatsumigumi (Tatsumi Group of Kyoto Ceramic Trade Association). The Seifū Yohei family was one of only a few potters who had enough financial strength to spare time for the revitalisation of the local industry.

The association introduced a number of new policies for reconstruction of the damaged industry. For example, they set up rules to recognise new techniques and to protect them for one to five years. The patent law was established in Japan in 1885 and it was an act responding to the new law.¹⁶⁷ A meeting was held once a month to study and share ceramic techniques. In addition, Tōjiki Chinretsujō (Ceramics Gallery) was built in 1886 in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district for displaying a wide collection of ceramic wares (fig. 1-52).¹⁶⁸ In 1896, Seifū Yohei III became one of the principal members of the foundation of Kyoto Shiritsu Tōjiki Shikenjō (Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre) (fig. 1-53), established for the development of the local ceramic industry.¹⁶⁹

While actively involved in the reconstruction of the Kyoto ceramic industry, Seifū

¹⁶⁴ Mashimizu 1935, 63.

¹⁶⁵ Appendix 1-1.

¹⁶⁶ Kyoto prefecture dissolved most trade unions which were hindering fair trade in 1871. (Fujioka 1962, 38).

¹⁶⁷ See Takahashi 1936 for further details on the process of recognition of the patent in Japan.

¹⁶⁸ Fujioka 1962, 38-40. Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai, 1893, 18.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter Two for details of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre.

Yohei III invented six new techniques. In 1886, he invented a method of firing white glaze painting on any glazed surface.¹⁷⁰ A small vase in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, is an example of this method where Chinese flowers were painted in relief in white overglaze enamel (fig. 1-54). In 1887, he invented *sango-yū* (coral red glaze). Tokyo National Museum holds a large incense burner with this glaze (fig. 1-55) and a vase in the Khalili collection has an additional crackled pattern (fig. 1-56). All three works Seifū Yohei III entered in Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai Bijutsu Tenrankai (Art Exhibition of Japan Art Association) in 1888 had this glaze. At the exhibition, he won first prize at the national level with a vase with this coral red glaze.¹⁷¹ It explains that this colour of glaze was unprecedented in Japan in 1888. Purple glaze is another important invention from this period. There was one example of the glaze in the Charles J. Morse collection sold at Spink and Son Ltd. in 1990 (fig. 1-57).¹⁷² This purple glaze was also used on a lidded jar owned by the Chinese porcelain collector Charles Hoyt (fig. 1-58). It is known that this glaze was used for his bowl with fish design that won first prize at NIE III in 1890. In addition, Seifū Yohei III found a method to fire yellow glaze over blue-and-white porcelain in 1889. A vase in the Khalili Collection matches the description (fig. 1-59).¹⁷³

Seifū Yohei III became famous for these new glazes in Kyoto. However, he was by no means the only potter experimenting with new glazes. In 1880s, many of his peers began experimenting new glazes.¹⁷⁴ Winning prizes at ceramic competitions became an important

¹⁷⁰ Appendix 1-1, 17.

¹⁷¹ Okamoto 2007, 66. The prize winning vase's whereabouts is not known.

¹⁷² Spink & Sons, Ltd. 1990, 115: lot 132, sold for £ 2800. Charles J. Morse (1852-1911) was a civil engineer from Evanston, Illinois. He represented a firm that constructed the Manufacturer's Building for the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago in 1893. He travelled to Japan in 1897 (McNamara 1994, 33). During the trip, he visited Seifū Yohei III and purchased many works. A large portion of Seifū Yohei III's works in western collections originally came from the Charles J. Morse Collection.

¹⁷³ Large vases dated circa 1890 often have similar widened *meiping* shape.

¹⁷⁴ For example, Katō Tomotarō (1851-1916) in Tokyo started to experiment with underglaze red in 1882, underglaze yellow in 1883 and underglaze purple in 1886. He succeeded in creating purple in 1890, yellow in 1893, reddish orange in 1899 and black in 1907. Takemoto Hayata is considered as the first Japanese potter to successfully fire 'tea dust' glaze and 'hare's fur' glaze. Miyagawa Kōzan I and Inoue Ryōsai II also produced wares with various colour glazes in the late 1880s. See Chapter Six for detailed biographies of Katō Tomotarō, Takemoto Hayata and Miyagawa Kōzan I.

aspect to ensure the success of a potter in the ceramic field. Inventing a new glaze was seemingly considered very highly in competitions. Seifū Yohei III began winning ceramic competitions at the national level after 1885. In 1890, he won first prize at NIE III with *Uoebachi* (Bowl with fish design). He was the only potter in the exhibition awarded first prize in the art category.¹⁷⁵ The successes in the exhibition immediately elevated Seifū Yohei III's position in Kyoto.¹⁷⁶ In 1890, he was appointed as judge in the regional ceramic competitions including Kyoto-shi Bijutsu Hakurankai (Kyoto City Art Exhibition), Kyoto-shi Kōgyō Bussankai (Kyoto City Industrial Products Exhibition) and Kyoto-shi Bijutsu Kōgei-hin Tenrankai (Kyoto City Art and Craft Exhibition).¹⁷⁷

However, none of these awards was comparable to the title he received in 1893. He was designated the first potter *teishitsu gigei'in* (Artist for the Imperial Household). He became one of only three *teishitsu gigei'in* in Kyoto at the time.¹⁷⁸ Along with all of these successes in competitions and contributions to the local industry, Seifū Yohei III was then given a role to provide works for members of the Imperial family.¹⁷⁹ This was followed by receiving the *Ryokuju hōshō* (Medal of Green Ribbon) in 1895.

Japan established the Medal of Honour in 1881. The Medal of Green Ribbon was given to honour children, grandchildren, wives and servants for remarkable acts of piety; and individuals who became a public role model through their diligence and perseverance while engaging in their professional activities.

When Seifū Yohei III received the medal on 30 March 1895, it was accompanied with the text stating the reason for the conferment:

¹⁷⁵ He also won first prize for *Hakuji mizusashi* (White-porcelain water jar) and *Akaji tsubo* (Red vase), in the category of industrial products. (Okamoto 2007, 66).

¹⁷⁶ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 155-156. Okamoto 2004, 51. Okamoto 2007, 66.

¹⁷⁷ Kyoto Hakuran Kyōkai 1903, 271, 279, 287.

¹⁷⁸ There were two Kyoto artists, Mori Kansai and Date Yasuke (1839-92), given the title when the title was established in 1890. Date Yasuke died in 1891. In 1893, Seifū Yohei III and Kōno Bairei (1844-95) were designated in Kyoto.

¹⁷⁹ See Chapter Six for a discussion of the issue of *teishitsu gigei'in* and the relationship of Seifū Yohei III to the Imperial Household.

Seifū Yohei III has always been after great masters as he has devoted his energy to the techniques in ceramics. He has reached the highest level among potters in the Kiyomizu district. Having tried to catch up with the ancient Chinese ceramics for a long time, he invented the process of creating uncountable number of coloured-glazes. He named them as *Hyakkanishiki* [one hundred flower glaze: polychrome overglaze enamels] and applied them for various works. His works have pure and elegant quality and innovative designs. Chinese and other foreigners widely appreciated his works. His reputation continued to expand and his market enlarged. Moreover, he does not hide his inventions. It was openly distributed to fellow artists for referencing. He organised annual and monthly meetings to study ceramic techniques or to examine kiln tools. He often instructed at various places for the purpose of the improvement of the industry. Besides, he has been frequently appointed as a committee member of exhibitions and competitions. He has made efforts both in the developing the field and outcomes of actual [artistic] works. The nation recognises him as a model of our nation.¹⁸⁰

This appraisal shows that the government recognised Seifū Yohei III's artistic career and contribution to the ceramic industry. The recognition by the Imperial Household Agency (Kunaishō) elevated the status of Seifū Yohei III in the community even higher. In 1895, Seifū Yohei III was nominated a judge of the ceramic section for NIE IV. Seifū Yohei III became a lifetime member to the Kyoto Art Association in 1896.

While working as a judge of the ceramic section, Seifū Yohei III won the second highest prize in the exhibition for his *Seika shōkaku-ga kabin* (Vase with crane under pine tree) and *Hakuji rōka-mon kabin* (Vase with cherry blossom pattern) at NIE IV. The two vases are illustrated in an exhibition report (fig. 1-60).¹⁸¹ Tokyo National Museum holds a similar work to the white vase (fig. 1-61).¹⁸² *Taihaku-ji* (great white porcelain or creamy white porcelain) with low relief decoration is his oldest invention in 1872 and his most

¹⁸⁰ 「夙ニ名匠ノ後ヲ襲テカヲ埒埴ノ工ニ竭シ清水ノ窯陶ヲシテ最モ良善ノ域ニ至シ遠ク漢土の製ニ凌跨セシメシコトヲ期シ單精銳思遂ニ萬種彩釉ノ製法ヲ發明シ之ヲ百花錦ト稱シ隨手應用ス意匠斬新品質純麗大ニ中外人ノ清賞ヲ博シ聲價益々騰リ販路愈々廣ル且其新方ハ敢テ自ラ之ヲ秘セス汎ク衆工ニ示シテ參考ニ資シ歲ニ月ニ同職ヲ會シテ或ハ陶法ヲ研究シ或ハ窯器ヲ品評シ多方誘掖以テ斯業ヲ埒益スルコト渺トセス其他屢々博覽共進諸會ノ委員ニ舉ラル等詢ニ實業ニ精勵シ衆民ノ模範トス」 (Kuroda 1899, 38-39. Tsuchida 1905, 217).

¹⁸¹ Shimabayashi 1895.

¹⁸² The Tokyo National Museum vase was exhibited at 1893 World Colombian Exhibition in Chicago. Compared to this vase, the prize winning vase cherry blossoms and was about twice as tall.

favourite style ever. The second vase shows another characteristic of the potter. A vase with the same design in mirror image is in the Ashmolean Museum collection (fig. 1-62). This vase can be considered as a crystallisation of his years of experiment in glazes. These are blue, black, red and green under a transparent glaze. At the same exhibition, Kinkōzan Sōbei VII and Itō Tōzan I (1846-1920)¹⁸³ won prizes with their typical Awata ware, stoneware with *kinrande* decoration. Seifū Yohei III's advanced glazing techniques must have stood out among hundreds of works in the competition.¹⁸⁴

The Young Kiyomizu Rokubei V (1875-1959)¹⁸⁵ visited the exhibition and was impressed by the two works.

It was at the exhibition in Meiji 28 (1895), the year I reached the draft age, when I was first interested in ceramics. The last Seifū Yohei [Yohei III] ... exhibited three works at the art gallery. I was astonished by these works. When I looked at them, I was transfixed. I thought Mr. Seifū creates outstanding works as these works remain in my memory. These works were very tall. I realised why my father [Kiyomizu Rokubei IV: 1848-1920¹⁸⁶] has been under pressure [by the fame of Seifū Yohei III]. I understood that there is no way that my father would compete against him. The works were so perfect that there was nothing I could say. I promised myself to create something to overcome his works in the future. This experience gave me the original impetus [to pursue ceramics]¹⁸⁷

¹⁸³ Itō Tōzan worked in the Awataguchi district. He was born in the family of Tobacco pipe maker. He learned ceramics in the workshops of Takahashi Dōhachi III, Kanzan Denshichi, Taizan Yohei, Ichimonjiya Chūbei. In order to widen the knowledge, Tōzan travelled ceramic centres such as Shigaraki, Izushi, Banko, Tajimi, Seto and Komatsu. Helped to revival of Asahi kiln in Uji in 1873 and of Zeze kiln in 1920. Tōzan developed an extensive ceramic collection and about eighty works of the collection was donated to the Imperial Museum of Kyoto and Nara (predecessor of Kyoto and Nara National Museum). In 1917, Tōzan was appointed to a position of *teishiitsu gigei'in*.

¹⁸⁴ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1895b.

¹⁸⁵ Kiyomizu Rokubei V worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He was a son of the Kiyomizu Rokubei IV. He apprenticed himself to Kōno Bairei in 1887 and he entered the Kyoto-fu Gagakkō in 1888. He was one of the leading potters in Kyoto in the first half of the nineteenth century.

¹⁸⁶ Kiyomizu Rokubei IV worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. He was the oldest son of Kiyomizu Rokubei III. Rokubei IV studied painting under Shiokawa Bunrin (1801-77) and succeeded the headship of the family in 1883. Compared to the Rokubei III, he mainly produced wares for the domestic market. He was involved with the literati circle in Kyoto and was a friend of Tomioka Tessai and Kōno Bairei.

¹⁸⁷ 「私が陶器に就いて目醒されたのは、明治二十八年の博覧會の時、丁度徴兵適齡の時だった。(中略)京都では先代の清風與平氏が(中略)三點を美術館に出してゐた。私はそれ等の作品を見てすっかり驚いてしまった。それを見た時には實際化石したやうに身動きも出来なかつた。成程清風さんは立派なものを造る人だと思つた。今だに頭に残つてゐる二尺五寸もあつたらう、何しろ大きなものだつた。それから始めて成程父が圧迫されてゐたのは當然だ、これ程も立派なものが出来ては如何ともなし難い。何も云う事が出来ないのだ。よし、

This memory of one of the leading Kyoto potters in the twentieth century explain the significance of Seifū Yohei III and the impact of his works to the younger generations of potters in Kyoto.

Seifū Yohei III lists thirty-six inventions between 1893 and 1900. It is a remarkable fact that between 1893 and 1895, he listed twenty-three new inventions. The timing matches the moment when he was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in* and awarded the Medal of Green Ribbon. The annual stipend of one hundred yen for holding a title *teishitsu gigei'in* would have eased the cost of experiments. Nakanodō has said that two inventions during this period were particularly distinctive. These are *kanpaku-ji* glaze (transparent glaze with light pink shading) and *tenmoku-yū rōjō-han* (Tenmoku glaze of waterfall effect).¹⁸⁸ Both inventions were made in 1893.¹⁸⁹ *Kanpaku-ji* is white porcelain with shading of light red transparent glaze. The style is now recognised as his signature style.¹⁹⁰ In 1893, he received the Second Prize of Silver Cup at Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai Shunki Bijutsuten (Spring Term Exhibition of the Japan Art Association) for *Tankō-yū botan kabin* (Vase with Light Red Glaze and Peony Design).¹⁹¹ This *tankō-yū* is an early name of *kanpaku-ji*.¹⁹² A vase in the Jim Heusinger Collection matches the description although the prize-winning vase could have been much larger (fig. 1-63). He improved and the detailed relief decoration became available. *Kanpaku-ji* with insects and butterfly of low relief decoration is listed in 1895 (fig. 1-64).

これに打克つものをどうしても自分の力で造つて見なければならぬ。と　これが吾々の今日の根底の刺戟となつた譯である。」 (Kiyomizu 1931, 37).

¹⁸⁸ Nakanodō 1997, 62-64.

¹⁸⁹ Appendix 1-1, 34.

¹⁹⁰ *Kanpaku-ji* is white porcelain with shading of light red transparent glaze. *Tairei-ji* (creamy white colour porcelain with transparent glaze) is used for the body. Low relief decoration is attached on body and these decorated areas are then covered with Mino paper. Diluted ash glaze is sprinkled by using wire net and brush. It is fired in an oxidation atmosphere and slight gradation of light-red colour appears in transparent glaze. (Nakanodō 1997, 62-63).

¹⁹¹ Okamoto 2007, 66.

¹⁹² The first piece titled *kanpaku-ji (yū)* is a vase purchased by the Imperial Household in 1897. (Okamoto 2007, 65). This style of work was called *tankō-yū* before then.

In addition, Seifū Yohei III created various high-fired light-colour glazes. In 1894, *tsukiyoi* (evening moon) celadon with low relief decoration was invented. A set of six food bowls by Seifū Yohei IV has an original box and called *tsukiyoi* celadon (fig. 1-65). In a document, two vases commissioned by members of the Imperial family were called *tsukiyoi* celadon.¹⁹³ *Mizuiro-yū* (water-colour glaze) is a light blue glaze invented in 1895. No work with this name is known, but the glaze would have looked like a bowl with fish design in a private collection in Japan (fig. 1-66) or a small vase with birds and waves in the David Hyatt King collection (fig. 1-67). A few more examples of glazes in similar tones are known. Although the name of the glaze is not known, a vase with light green glaze is in the British Museum (fig. 1-68). Light purple glaze is rare but certainly exists. A large vase with cloud design in a private collection is an example (fig. 1-69). In addition to these, Seifū Yohei III had already achieved creamy white and light yellow (fig. 1-70, 71).

Tenmoku-yū rōjō-han is rather different from these wares with light colour glazes. The large vase in a private collection in New York is one of the best examples (fig. 1-72). The marks created with different tones of tenmoku glaze resemble a dragon flying in clouds. There are other examples with tenmoku glaze (fig. 1-73, 74). Besides, there are several other darker colour glazes achieved during this period. Since many works do not have original boxes, we can only guess which work the name describes. Following are the names of these glazes and some works likely to be with these glazes: *Gen-yū* (jade colour glaze) in 1890 (fig. 1-75), *rōkan-ji* (dark green glazed porcelain) (fig. 1-76) in 1892, *gishi-yū* (reddish brown glaze), and *koku-yū* (black glaze) in 1893, *gohi-yū* (skin of *kochi* fish glaze) in 1894, *chayō-ji* (tea leaf glazed porcelain) in 1895, and *ran-ji* (dark blue glazed porcelain) (fig. 1-77) and *chairo-yū* (brown glaze) (fig. 1-78) in 1896. Seifū Yohei III claims that all the glazes were created using materials found locally. It is remarkable that Seifū Yohei III managed to produce such a large number of coloured glazes, which were mostly unprecedented in Japan.

¹⁹³ Appendix 6-2, 14.

Seifū Yohei III's innovative glazing techniques were highly appreciated in Japan, but also in the western world. He won a number of prizes at international expositions including Chicago in 1893, Paris in 1900 and London in 1910.¹⁹⁴ These events made him an internationally recognised potter. As the news spread in Japan, it reinforced the status of Seifū Yohei III in the Kyoto art field.¹⁹⁵

After the Paris Exposition in 1900, the name and works of Seifū Yohei III cease to appear in publications and exhibition records. For example, he did not participate in the Louisiana Purchase Exhibition in St. Louis in 1904.¹⁹⁶ He listed fourteen inventions in his remaining fourteen years, whereas it was twenty-three for the previous eight years. The reason for his sudden disappearance is not known. It could have been caused by declining health or he might have wanted to retire from the leading position in the Kyoto ceramic field. In the same year as the Paris Exposition and just before his disappearance from the field, fourteen works of Seifū Yohei III were exhibited at Nanzen-ji temple. Okamoto pointed out that the selection of the works was as if it were a retrospective exhibition of Seifū Yohei III.¹⁹⁷ Soon after, he started to hand over the responsibility as a leader of Kyoto potters to younger generations. For example, nominated as judge, five artists including Seifū Yohei III declined to take part in the Shin Ko Bijutsuten (Art Exhibition both New and Old) after 1901.¹⁹⁸ By limiting his public activities, Seifū Yohei III would have had more time to concentrate on his creative activities. The annual reports of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre recorded eight experiments requested by Seifū Yohei III between 1900 and 1906.¹⁹⁹

Even though the number is fewer, certainly the most time-consuming works belong

¹⁹⁴ National Research Institute for Cultural Properties, Tokyo 1997, 275, 389. Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1901a, 25.

¹⁹⁵ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b. Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1901a, 25.

¹⁹⁶ Okamoto 2007, 73.

¹⁹⁷ Okamoto 2007, 73.

¹⁹⁸ The five artists were Iida Shinshichi IV (1859-1944), Nishimura Sōzaemon XII (*d.* 1935), Hiro'oka Ihei (dates unknown), Hara Zaisen (1849-1916) and Seifū Yohei III (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1901b, 33).

¹⁹⁹ Appendix 1-3.

to the last fourteen years. Two of his first inventions were a distinctive celadon glaze and white porcelain with relief decoration known as *taihaku-ji*. These two styles of works were created throughout his career and the best examples are found soon after 1900. A large celadon vase in *tobiseiji* style shows the distinctive Seifū green (fig. 1-79). *Taihaku-ji* vase with *reishi* (Ch. *lingzhi*²⁰⁰), shows the perfection of the delicate relief technique (fig. 1-80).²⁰¹ The combination of more than one technique is another characteristic. A vase with phoenix and paulownia in the Jim Heusinger Collection shows a combination of underglaze blue, inglaze light red and low relief decoration (fig. 1-81).²⁰² A vase with mountain cherry blossoms in the Museum of Imperial Collection displays a combination of inglaze light red and yellow and relief decoration all over the body (fig. 1-82).²⁰³ Okamoto illustrated some other examples of Seifū Yohei III's major works from this period.²⁰⁴ These were often refined versions of his earlier inventions.

Seifū Yohei III reached the height of success as a potter. All the troubles his family had with fellow potters in the area were solved except for one problem. He needed to acquire his own climbing kiln before handing over the workshop to his son. Since Kiyomizu Shichibei II sold the kiln, which Seifū Yohei II and III were using, the new owner Yamamura Chōzan never agreed to sell the kiln. According to Mashimizu Zōroku II, Yohei III offered to buy the kiln soon after he became a *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893. The price was never agreed and Chōzan sold the kiln to Yamamoto Tatsunosuke instead.²⁰⁵ Yohei III tried to buy the kiln from Yamamoto too, but never received a positive answer. It was three years after Yamamoto Tatsunosuke passed away when Yohei III finally acquired the kiln from Yamamoto

²⁰⁰ The image of *lingzhi* is frequently depicted in the asian art. It is used medicinally, with many claims of health-stimulating properties, and believed to have an effect on long life.

²⁰¹ Both vases were donated to the Imperial Museum by the artist in 1912.

²⁰² This vase matches the description of the vase that won a prize at Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai, Dai 32 kai Bijutsu Tenrankai (the 32nd Art Exhibition of Japan Art Association) in 1902.

²⁰³ This vase won third prize at Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai, Dai 37 kai Bijutsu Tenrankai (the 35th Art Exhibition of Japan Art Association) in 1905. The vase was purchased by Kunaichō after the exhibition.

²⁰⁴ Okamoto 2007, 67-68.

²⁰⁵ Yamamoto Tatsunosuke opened ceramic business in 1864. His potter name is Yamamoto Ryūzan and the family still operates a ceramic business.

Yamanosuke, the son of Tatsunosuke, in 1907.²⁰⁶ It is a remarkable fact that Seifū Yohei III received a series of important prizes without owning a high-fired kiln. Moreover, it shows the local politics which the Seifū family had to deal with.

Seifū Yohei IV once described his father Yohei III in his later years:

[Seifū Yohei III] used to wake up around 10:00 am in his later years. He worked the whole day and continued working on new ideas until around 2:00 am. He did not drink even a drop of *sake*, and had no other hobbies. It seems that he only liked making ceramics, and hardly ever left home. He instructed us in every detail of ceramic making, but the results were often different from what he hoped for. So, he frequently scolded us.²⁰⁷

This description explains that he was more or less retired from the responsibilities as a leader of the local and national ceramic communities. Being a loyal student of Tanomura Chokunyū, literati ideals and aesthetics may have inspired him to such a retired life.²⁰⁸ On 15 July 1914, Seifū Yohei III died at the age of 63 from stomach cancer. In appreciation of his contribution to the Imperial Household, the cost of the memorial service was supplemented by Imperial Household Agency.²⁰⁹

Seifū Yohei IV (1872-1946)

Seifū Yohei IV, the second son of Seifū Yohei III, succeeded to the headship of the family when he was 42 years old.²¹⁰ Seifū Yohei IV's involvement in the Seifū workshop

²⁰⁶ Mashimizu 1935, 63. This issue of kiln is probably one of the main reasons why Seifū Yohei III did not have a large workshop to manufacture products. His workshop only had six employees in 1887 (Seifū 1887). The number would not have increased throughout his lifetime as the size of the available kiln space could not be significantly enlarged without having his own kiln.

²⁰⁷ 「朝は晩年には十時頃に起き、終日仕事を致し、夜は二時頃まで考案に耽つて居りました。それで酒は一滴も飲みませず、他に道楽はみいせん、たゞ製造するのが楽しみらしふみいしたので、従つて外出といふことは殆ど致しませなんだ。それで、私共に對し、製造については一々指導致しましたが、どうも思ふやうにいかぬのでよく小言を申しました。」(Kuroda 1920, 184).

²⁰⁸ Seifū Yohei III was a special member of Nihon Nanga Kyōkai (Watanabe 1930, 18).

²⁰⁹ Watanabe 1930, 19.

²¹⁰ Seifū Yohei III called himself Seizan 晟山 and Yohei IV took the name Seizan 成山, pronounced

between circa 1910 and 1914 is important. Seifū Yohei III left him a fortune, distinctive styles and the foundations of production including a climbing kiln. Compared to the previous three generations, Yohei IV was fortunate that he did not need to struggle for survival in this competitive field. He was brought up in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district as a son of Seifū Yohei III with a promising future. He studied literati-style painting under Tanomura Shōsai (1753-1830), a son of Tanomura Chokunyū, in Osaka for three years. He saw his father's success and fame in his twenties and thirties. He would have helped the production of Seifū Yohei III's workshop as his father did for his grandfather.

A number of works attributed to Seifū Yohei III were probably completed by Yohei IV. For example, a *taihaku-ji* vase in the Imperial collection was given to the Crown Prince by Emperor Taishō in 1913 (fig. 1-83), but 'Seifū' signature on the vase is similar to ones by Seifū Yohei IV (fig. 1-86). Another example is an incense burner by Seifū Yohei III exhibited at the Japan-British Exhibition in 1910 (fig. 1-84). Seifū Yohei IV once noted that Yohei III used to produce blue-and-white incense burners only with a metal lid. Yohei III had trouble with porcelain lids because distortion during firing often causes a mismatch with the body. Then, Yohei IV explained that he made an incense burner with a porcelain lid with openwork. The photograph of the incense burner has a porcelain lid with openwork. These facts in addition to observation of other ceramic wares suggest that Seifū Yohei IV mainly operated the Seifū workshop after circa 1910, probably due to the declining health of Seifū Yohei III. In addition, Seifū Yohei IV claimed that he used the seal of Yohei III for five years after his succession.²¹¹ A large portion of these late works, currently attributed to Yohei III, is probably by Yohei IV under Yohei III's detailed direction.

Immediately after succession to the headship of the Seifū family in 1915, he won the Golden Prize at the Panama Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco with *Vase*

the same but written with a different first character.

²¹¹ Kuroda 1920, 184.

with *Chrysanthemum* (fig. 1-85).²¹² In 1916, he won the second prize at the exhibition of the Japan Art Association with *Yellow Bowl with Peony*.²¹³ In 1918, he won the third prize at the same exhibition with his *Yellow Vase with Plum Blossom Design* (fig. 1-86).²¹⁴ In 1922, he became an associate of the Salon in France. Seifū Yohei IV created several works for members of the Imperial family.²¹⁵ It appears as if he started as another great potter, but his style continued to follow his father's footsteps. Even though he claimed that he invented new glazes, many were merely variations on his father's inventions (fig. 1-87).²¹⁶

The early twentieth century was a crucial turning point for ceramic art in Japan. In 1911, Nihon Tōryō Kabushikigaisha (Japan Ceramic Material Co.) was established in Tokyo. The company started to sell stoneware and porcelain clay from different areas of Japan and glazes in many different colours. Suddenly, dozens of ceramic materials became readily available. Besides, the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre contributed to spread modern ceramic techniques to the area. This popularisation of ceramic production techniques forced potters to shift their attention from new techniques to new designs.

Earlier in Kyoto, Yūtō-en (Circle of Playing Ceramics) was founded in 1903 by Kiyomizu Rokubei V, Miyanaga Tōzan I (1868-1941), Asai Chū (1856-1907)²¹⁷, Kinkōzan Sōbei VII and many others. The movement was inspired by Art Nouveau in France. Members included both designers and potters, who worked together in creating ceramic art for the new generation. A large vase by Kinkōzan Sōbei VII in the Ashmolean Museum would have been the kind of work produced for the circle (fig. 1-88).

²¹² Kuroda 1920, 182.

²¹³ Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai 1916, 30.

²¹⁴ Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai 1918, 1.

²¹⁵ In 1924, Seifū Yohei IV was commissioned to create a yellow porcelain incense burner for the marriage of the Crown Prince in 1924 and a *kanpaku-ji* vase for the enthronement of Emperor Shōwa (1901-89) in 1928.

²¹⁶ Kuroda 1920, 182.

²¹⁷ Asai Chū was born into a samurai family of Sakura domain. He studied literati-style painting at a domain school, then moved to Tokyo in 1873, where he studied English. In 1876, he entered Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō and studied under Antonio Fontanesi. He taught painting at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō after 1898 and then went to France to study oil painting in 1900. Asai returned in 1902 and became a Professor at Kyoto Kōtō Kōgei Gakkō (Kyoto Higher School of Arts and Crafts).

In 1920, Sekido-sha (Red Clay Group) was established by young graduates from the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre led by Kusube Yaichi (1897-1984)²¹⁸, Yagi Issō (1894-1973).²¹⁹ Their manifesto states:

Our life would be too miserable if [we just] praise potters who stick to hereditary styles without awakening from the slumber of selflessness.²²⁰

One of the potters they were referring to was probably Seifū Yohei IV. None of the members of Sekido-sha had a strong background in the ceramic industry in Kyoto. Movements like this would not have lasted for long in the Meiji era, but these young potters were accepted and later took over the ceramic art field. It was a result of the popularisation of ceramic production techniques, which Seifū Yohei III introduced and encouraged in the past. Ironically, Seifū Yohei IV was badly affected by it and gradually faded from the main stage. He at least continued to be recognised as a famous Kyoto potter until World War II, or until the aftermath of the war destroyed his entire fortune.²²¹

Conclusion

The lives of the first four generations of Seifū Yohei display the importance of the artists' identity in their local community. Who they were in the community was the decisive factor in any artistic creation until the end of the Meiji era. Especially, without owning a kiln,

²¹⁸ Kusube Yaichi was born in the family of ceramic manufacturer. He studied painting under Kōno Bairei. In 1912, he entered the Denshūjō (training school) of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre where he met Fujie Eikō, Kawai Kanjirō and other important potters. Kusube won numerous prizes at national and international exhibitions and competitions. He was a member of the Japan Art Academy, a board member of Nitten (the Japan Fine Arts Exhibition), the holder of Kyoto City Cultural Merit, and National Cultural Merit. In 1978, Kusube was awarded *Bunka kunshō* (Order of Cultural Merit).

²¹⁹ Yagi was born in Osaka and apprenticed himself to Kikkō Shōgetsu of Kikkō-yaki kiln. In 1912, he was accepted as a trainee at the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre. After the graduation, he worked in the workshop of Takahashi Dōhachi. Yagi Kazuo (1918-79) is his son.

²²⁰ 「忘我の眠りより覚めず、因襲的な様式に拘泥せる陶工を謳歌し賛美するは、吾々の生涯として余りに悲惨なり」 (Nakanodō 1997, 115).

²²¹ Seifū Yohei IV lost the family fortune due to the conversion to new yen after the WWII.

it was difficult to expand the size of production and operate a stable business. Seifū Yohei I and II chose to work with influential potters in the area for their survival. Seifū Yohei III, on the other hand, solved the problem by choosing another path.

Knowing the struggle of his predecessors, he could not risk having problems with neighbouring influential potters. Seifū Yohei III, therefore, made extremely careful choices according to the changes in society. He concentrated on developing new ceramic techniques, which used to be only possible by Chinese potters, while continuing production of wares embodied qualities appealing to former samurai, aristocrat or wealthy merchant classes in his early career. Using these new technical discoveries, he elevated his status by winning local and national ceramic competitions that became the main stage of potters' artistic activities. His successes in competitions were directly related to his national recognition. His designation as a *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893 resulted in the sudden elevation of his status at the local and national level. The success meant a freedom from local politics, which had been a source of trouble for the Seifū family for decades.

Seifū Yohei III's artistic activities were therefore mostly motivated by regional and domestic, not international issues. Although ceramics of the Meiji era have been discussed in the context of export to the west, Seifū Yohei III, a leading potter of the Meiji era, and many other potters in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, do not fit in the context. Their works were designed according to domestic needs and were mostly consumed within Japan. Of course, Seifū Yohei III's works were exhibited in various international expositions, but Japanese clients purchased many of them prior to departure. It was probably true that his participation came from his responsibility as a leading potter of Japan rather than expanding his sales to overseas customers. His view of the West was probably different from the views of his contemporaries from different areas who were deeply involved in the production of export wares for the Western market.

Development or modernisation for him meant inventing new ceramic technologies

in order to catch up with the technically more advanced West and China. At the same time, he worked to popularise these new technologies for the development of the Kyoto ceramics industry. While many Japanese potters focused on Western style techniques, his polychrome overglaze enamels and various monochrome glazes suggest that there were more Chinese elements than Western. This combination of domestic market and Imperial Qing-style Chinese porcelain appears to be a key to understanding the works by Seifū Yohei III and many other potters during the Meiji era. Moreover, it reveals a side of Japanese export ceramics that has yet to be investigated.

Chapter Two

Rivalry between Kyoto and Tokyo as Centres of Artistic Production

In a lecture in Kyoto in August 1888, Kuki Ryūichi (1850–1931)²²², Director of the Imperial Museum (Teishitsu Hakubutsukan: predecessor of the Tokyo National Museum), posed a question.

To promote the fine arts in the future on which aspects do we need to focus?
Should the centre of Japanese art be Kyoto, as it has been for seven hundred
years, or Tokyo? Or, should the arts of both cities develop
simultaneously?²²³

Previous studies of Japanese art both in Japan and the West of this period have tended to focus on artists in Tokyo. Scholars usually speak of Tokyo as if it had always been at the forefront of artistic trends from the late nineteenth century onwards. Kitazawa Noriaki explains that the change in Japanese art in the early Meiji era can be described as the time of the institutionalisation of art.²²⁴ In his theory, the art of Japan was created by following the West as a model. This theory focuses on art-related activities, how government in Tokyo managed to regulate cultural diversity, but does not focus on how differently each area reacted. On the other hand, artistic activities of other important cities, Kyoto in particular as Kuki pointed out, have seldom attracted scholarly attention. In fact, Kyoto was one of the

²²² Kuki Ryūichi is a governmental official worked for art administration of the Meiji era. He was born as a samurai of Sanda domain and later adopted into the Kuki family of Ayabe domain. Kuki studied under Fukuzawa Yukichi and entered the Ministry of Education in 1872. After filling various important posts in the ministry, Kuki became the first Director of the Imperial Museum in Tokyo in 1889. He was a committee member of *teishitsu gigei'in*.

²²³ 「将来ノ美術奨励ノ淵源ハ果シテ何處ニ歸スヘキ乎且殊ニ京都ニ關シテハ将来美術ノ中心ハ果シテ東京ニ歸スヘキ乎將從來七百年間ノ如ク此所ニ歸スヘキ乎又ハ兩所ニ日月ヲ掛ケ共ニ進行スヘキ乎」 (Kuki 1888, 30).

²²⁴ Kitazawa 1989. Kitazawa's theory has been inherited by more recent studies by Takagi Hiroshi, Satō Dōshin and Kinoshita Naoyuki. Takagi pointed out the role and responsibility of the Imperial family in the art related activities, while Satō focused on the issue of creation of terminologies for Japanese art (Takagi 1991. Satō 1996). Kinoshita focused on the relationship between art and various exhibitions which were the main arena to display any art works in the late nineteenth century Japan (Kinoshita 1993).

leading cities actively modernising society and many new measures were introduced earlier in Kyoto than Tokyo.

Previous studies of the arts of the Meiji era have often been insensitive to these cultural diversities within Japan. By the end of the Edo period, Japan comprised over three hundred regional domains ruled by the same number of regional lords. Each domain held its distinctive culture, the main reason for the cultural diversity of the period.²²⁵ The life of Japanese of the Meiji era was regulated according to the interests of the region to which they belonged. The regional interests therefore should be regarded as one of the main factors, which defined art and artists of the Meiji era.

As in other fields, a Tokyo-centric view has been dominant in studies of ceramics of the Meiji era. Potters from other areas such as Kyoto, Arita, Kutani, Seto etc. have only attracted limited attention. Kyoto was the centre of Japanese arts by the end of the Edo period. After the Meiji Restoration, Kyoto has never handed over the position to Tokyo. The two cities competed against each other to be the centre of ceramic production of Japan. This rivalry not only directed the development of arts of the Meiji era, but also Seifū Yohei III's artistic activities.

In order to display the differences and similarities between the two cities, this chapter begins with broader issues and gradually shifts to more focused ones. Firstly, it will look at the most important event that motivated the competition between Tokyo and Kyoto. At the start of the Meiji era, the two cities fought over imperial patronage, which was the prime source of income for the Kyoto art industry. The permanent move of the Emperor and hundreds of the aristocracy to Tokyo changed the structure of the art industry of the two capitals. Secondly, it examines the issues of exhibitions and art schools. In the rivalry between two cities, both tried to take the initiative in the two areas. Thirdly, discussion of the

²²⁵ Vapori has pointed out the importance of the cultural activities of these domains in the Edo period. He said that 'it is crucial to recognize that "Edo culture" was nothing less than an amalgam of continually changing influences from early modern Japan's large number of domains.' (Vapori 1997).

issues related to ceramic industry will be examined. It focuses on new approaches in ceramic production introduced by German chemist Gottfried Wagener, and how differently Wagener's modernisation methods changed ceramic industries of the two capitals. These discussions underpin the existence of two rather different paths to modernisation and the different priorities each capital had.

Emperor Meiji's move to Tokyo

In the Edo period, there were three major cities in Japan. Edo was the political centre as the base of successive Tokugawa shoguns. Kyoto was the place where Emperors resided. Osaka, was the economic centre described as *Tenka no daidokoro* (the nation's kitchen), controlled by the wealthy merchant class. The cultures of each city developed separately and formed three distinctive types. Different styles of painting flourished, and more differences than similarities are found in the arts.²²⁶ Fujitani has given a detailed analysis on this transition of the capital from Kyoto to Tokyo in historical and topographical contexts.²²⁷ However, the effect of the relocation of the Emperor over the arts has not been discussed although the impact was significant.

Patronage from shogun and daimyo ensured that the arts flourished in Edo. In 1635 (Kan'ei 12), the Third Shogun Tokugawa Iemitsu (1604-51) introduced the system of *sankinkōtai*, ordering every daimyo to come up to reside for one year in two in Edo. During their year's absence, their wives were forced to live in Edo. The purpose was to prevent revolts by this surveillance and by forcing all daimyo to spend large sums of money on travel. Daimyo were also required to participate in costly gift-giving practices.²²⁸ These demands

²²⁶ For example, in Kyoto, the Maruyama Shijō School and *Bunjin-ga* (the School of Japanese Literati-style painting) were more popular than the official Kanō School style paintings.

²²⁷ Fujitani 1998, 31-92.

²²⁸ Vioris 1997, 64.

from the samurai class greatly benefited the arts and cultures.²²⁹ Much of the wealth in the country was accumulated in Edo and satellite cities along the main routes to Edo.

Kyoto was the capital city of successive Emperors. Members of the Imperial family and the aristocracy were the main patrons for the art industry in Kyoto. In addition, wealthy Buddhist temples were important clients. These temples had the function of looking after the kin of Emperors in order to prevent revolts. In return, temples were granted guaranteed security by the Tokugawa Shogunate and flourished. In addition, although the size was often smaller than in Edo, most daimyo owned residences in Kyoto.

The Meiji Restoration resulted in many changes to society. These changes forced artists of both cities to fight for their survival. In this sense, the relocation of the Palace and Emperor Meiji (1852-1912) from Kyoto to Tokyo in 1869 was significant. Even though it was originally undertaken for political motives, a great impact hit the arts immediately. Kyoto had been the centre of the battle between the Tokugawa Shogunate against pro-imperialist factions at the end of the Edo period. On the twentieth day of the eighth month, 1864, Hamagurgomon no hen (the Rebellion at the Hamaguri Gate) resulted in a devastating fire which burned one third of the inner city of Kyoto (fig.2-1 and 2).²³⁰ After years of dispute in Kyoto, the Fifteenth Shogun Tokugawa Yoshinobu (1837-1913)²³¹ gave up his sovereignty in eleventh month, 1867. Kyoto welcomed the news, as the Emperor became the ruler of the country again. The city would be the political capital of Japan for the new era.

In Edo, *Haihan chiken* (the abolition of *han* system) in 1871 brought about the discharge of the entire samurai class from their responsibilities. Even prior to 1871, daimyo

²²⁹ For example, the Kanō School as the official school of painting of the government, demonstrated a strong presence, also the Sekishū School of *chanoyu*.

²³⁰ Kyoto-shi, 1975, 16.

²³¹ The fifteenth Shōgun of the Tokugawa shogunate. In 1856, Tokugawa Iemochi died in Osaka and Yoshinobu took over. In 1867, he returned the sovereignty to Emperor Meiji. After the loss of war in Kyoto against pro-imperialists in 1868, Yoshinobu went into Kan'ei-ji temple in Ueno. He soon gave up the headship of the Tokugawa family to Tokugawa Iesato (1863-1940).

based in Edo had already returned to their domains and hundreds of their residences in Edo were empty. Ichiki Shirō from Satsuma domain described the city soon after the handover of Edo Castle.

I do not know how to describe the extreme poverty of the nobles. All the ex-high-ranking retainers of the Shogun left for their provinces. Their residences became thickets. The residences of daimyo from small to large were devastated and creepers cover the eaves.²³²

Isabella L. Bird, an English traveller, wrote what she saw in Tokyo in 1878:

Yedo is in fact no more. The moats, walls, and embankments, the long lines of decaying yashikis, and the shrines of Shiba and Ueno, with the glories of their gilded and coloured twilight, alone recall its splendid past. The palace within the castle no longer exists, the last Shogun lives in retirement at Shidzuoka; the daimyo are scattered thorough the suburbs; not a "two-sworded" man is to be seen...²³³

The population in the metropolitan area of Tokyo, estimated at around 1,300,000 in the first half of the nineteenth century, declined to just over 500,000 in 1869.²³⁴ Some artists and artisans in Edo had samurai titles, but suddenly lost their source of income. The Kanō School, for example, was an officially recognised painting school by the Tokugawa government, but even leading painters of the school such as Kanō Hōgai (1828-88)²³⁵ and Hashimoto Gahō (1835-1908)²³⁶ lived barely on a small income.²³⁷

²³² 「貴賤貧困を極むることたとうるにものなし。旧幕臣悉く各所に流難転沛し、その居宅変じて草木の藪となり諸侯大中小の邸宅も荒廃を極め八重むぐら軒をおおう」(Watarai, 1968b).

²³³ Bird 1880, I-171.

²³⁴ Ogi 1979, 34-56, 577-588.

²³⁵ Kanō Hōgai was born in Chōfū domain. He moved to Edo at the age of nineteen and apprenticed himself to Kanō Tadanobu (Shōsen'in) (1823-1880). After the Meiji Restoration, Hōgai worked for the Shimazu family. After Ernest Fenollosa and Okakura Kakuzō recognised his talent, he worked to modernise Japanese paintings by introducing western painting techniques. He helped to establish Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, but passed away before the school's opening.

²³⁶ Hashimoto Gahō was born in Edo as a son of a painter and started training in painting at the age of five. In 1846, he apprenticed himself to Kanō Osanobu (Seisen'in) (1775-1846) and then Kanō Tadanobu (Shōsen'in) (1823-80). In 1860, he became independent and given the name Gahō. After the Meiji Restoration, he could not earn enough money by painting for a while. In 1880s, started to win prizes at art competitions and exhibitions. In 1886, he joined the establishment of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō and taught at the school. In 1890, he was appointed to one of the first *teishitsu gigei'in*.

²³⁷ 「当時狩野芳崖や橋本雅邦などは実に惨めな生活をして居たもので、雅邦は海軍省の御雇

On the thirtieth of the sixth month, 1868 (Keiō 4), Arisugawa no miya Taruhito shinnō (Prince Taruhito of Arisugawa: 1835-1895),²³⁸ Kido Takayoshi (1833-77)²³⁹, Ōkubo Toshimichi (1830-78)²⁴⁰, Sanjō Sanetomi (1837-91)²⁴¹, Kimura Masujirō (1824-69) and Etō Shinpei (1834-74)²⁴² decided to change the name of Edo to Tokyo and to invite Emperor Meiji to the new capital of Japan.²⁴³ Because of the decision, Emperor Meiji declared that Edo was to be renamed Tokyo on the fourteenth day of the seventh month.²⁴⁴ On the twentieth day of the ninth month, 1868, Emperor Meiji went to Tokyo for the first time (fig. 2-3). The decision was already made, but the government explained that Emperor Meiji would return to Kyoto immediately to rule the country. However, artists and artisans in Kyoto distrusted the announcement and protested strongly. Several hundred artisans in the Nishijin textile district demonstrated *Osendomairi*, walking around the Ōmiya Palace for several days to protest directly to his majesty. The loss of Emperor Meiji and hundreds of the aristocracy was directly connected to their survival. As the new government was dominated

か何かで十円位の月給で地図引きをしてみたし、芳崖は薩摩の藩の者に可愛がられてゐたのでどうか糊口をうるほして居たやうであつた」(Ueno 1956, 5).

²³⁸ Prince Taruhito was the oldest son of Prince Takahito of Arisugawa (1812-1886). He was the first President of the Meiji government (*Seifu sōsai*).

²³⁹ Kido was born in Hagi domain and was adopted into the Katsura family of high-ranking retainer of Chōshū domain. As one of the main promoter of *son'nō jōi* (Revere the Emperor, Expell the Barbarians), he was actively supported pro-imperialists in Kyoto. After the Meiji Restoration, Kido was appointed him to major governmental positions. He proceeded a series of radical structural changes.

²⁴⁰ As one of main activists of Satsuma domain, Ōkubo worked to strengthen the nation by uniting the Imperial family and the Tokugawa family at the end of Edo period. He, however, later worked for *son'nō jōi*. After the Meiji Restoration, Ōkubo joined the Meiji government. He became the Minister of Finance in 1871 and encouraged modernisation and industrialisation of Japan. He was assassinated in Tokyo in 1877.

²⁴¹ Sanjō Sanetomi is a court noble of the Edo period and politician of the Meiji era. As a supporter of *son'nō jōi*, he had to flee from Kyoto in 1863. After the Meiji Restoration, Sanjō joined the government, and became the *Dajō daijin* (the Chief Minister) in 1871. After the foundation of the cabinet, Sanjō became *Naidaijin* (The Advisor of the Emperor) in 1885.

²⁴² Etō Shinpei was born a samurai of Saga domain. He worked to modernise the nation's structure after the Meiji Restoration. In 1872, he became the Minister of Law and set the foundations of the modern police system, educational system and judicature. When ex-samurai of Saga domain revolted in 1874, Etō was sent to calm the situation, but later joined the revolt. He was captured and judged by the law he had established. He was executed by decapitation and the head was displayed publicly.

²⁴³ Watarai 1964a.

²⁴⁴ Emperor Meiji declared that Edo would be renamed Tokyo and the government would be in Tokyo, but never mentioned that Tokyo would be the capital of Japan. The transfer of the capital has not been announced even to the present day.

by people from Satsuma and Chōshū domains in the south of Japan, they believed the government had stolen their most important clients by using political power.

Emperor Meiji was forced to return to Kyoto on the twenty-second day of the twelfth month after staying in Tokyo for a while. In the third month, 1869, the Emperor once again left for Tokyo. The official explanation was that the Emperor would come back to Kyoto after a while. Then, there was another rumour that this time the Empress would also move to Tokyo. The rumour caused a second protest. *Heian tsūshi* (History of Kyoto) records that several thousand people, probably including many artisans, gathered in front of Ishiyakushi gate on the twenty-fourth day of the ninth month, 1869. They protested against the transfer of the capital.²⁴⁵ Despite the series of protests, Emperor Meiji never returned to Kyoto to rule the country. However, the Imperial Court considered that it was too risky just to take away the Emperor from the old capital. On the eighth of the third month, 1870, Kyoto Prefecture addressed a letter to a minister in Tokyo.

Since the Emperor's carriage went to Tokyo, it has stayed there for almost a year. Our prefecture has become more and more deserted. Residents of this prefecture are more and more worried. They rumour about the relocation of the capital. They think it will be difficult to pay the land tax after the relocation... On the third month of the following year, the Emperor came back and performed the ceremony of Daishōkai. People were relieved. However, the situation seemed closer to breakdown. Our prefecture is concerned about the matter. After the last winter, our prefecture has sent officers to ask for exemption of the land tax for residents of Kyoto city and to confer corn and money.²⁴⁶

The government accepted this request and residents in Kyoto were exempted from the land tax.

²⁴⁵ Gotō 1986, 18-19.

²⁴⁶ 「初メ車駕東幸以來。駐鑾シタマフコト殆ト一年。府下日ニマスマス寂寥シ。民心日ニマスマス疑惧シ。妄リニ相傳ヘテ以謂ラク。是遷都ノ内旨ナリ。遷都ノ後ハ。地子ノ蠲免モ亦保シ難シト。...論ススニ明年三月 還幸。且大嘗會ノ典ヲ挙ラルヲ以テシ。一時以テ衆心ヲ鎮ス。然レトモ府下ノ動靜動モスレハ沸騰ノ勢ヒアリ。本府深ク之レヲ憂慮シ。過冬以來。地子免除・及ヒ金穀下付ノ兩件ヲ以テ。累陳切請シ特ニ屬吏ヲ東京ニ差シ。就テソノ意ヲ申疏ス。」 (Kyoto-fu 1972, 29).

In addition, Emperor Meiji gave away generous 50,000 *ryō* twice in 1872 from the budget of the Imperial Household for industrial development in Kyoto. In addition, Kyoto was managed to loan 150,000 yen from the government for the industrial development.²⁴⁷ Kyoto was one of the only two prefectures along with Osaka loaned funds from the government.²⁴⁸ This funds in a total of 250,000 yen (100,000 yen given from the Imperial Household + 150,000 yen loaned from the government) was not only exceptionally large, but also the only example among all prefectures. 250,000 yen is about 0.4 percent of the annual expenditure of the Meiji government in 1873.²⁴⁹

This fund helped to expand and to develop infrastructure in the prefecture.²⁵⁰ Kyoto was one of first prefectures to undertake series of changes in the cultural administration, when most areas of Japan were experiencing financial troubles due to the change of regime. It also helped Kyoto quickly modernise its industries including ones related to art. In other words, Kyoto acquired funds for developing the art industry in return for giving up Emperor Meiji when art was not important as Imaizumi Yūsaku (1850-1931)²⁵¹, an art historian and connoisseur, described:

Art was never seriously considered in the society of the early Meiji era. Of course, the word 'art' was not used. It would be correct to say that nobody cared about painting or calligraphy around the time of the Meiji Restoration...²⁵²

²⁴⁷ Kyoto-fu 1972, 28-31.

²⁴⁸ Kyoto-fu 1972, 31-33. The monetary unit *yen* was introduced in 1871, but *ryō* and *yen* were both used and they were interchangeable in the early Meiji era.

²⁴⁹ Ōkurashō Zaiseishi Shitsu 1989, 45-46. If it is converted to today's value, 0.4 percent of the annual expenditure of Japan in 2008 is about 331,600,000,000 yen (equivalent to approximately 2,440,000,000 pounds sterling).

²⁵⁰ Details of the usage of the funds are not known. It seems that a part of the funds was given to textile manufacturers for installing modern weaving machines and was also used to dig the irrigation canal from Lake Biwa.

²⁵¹ Imaizumi was born as a samurai in Edo. In 1877, he went to Paris to study Asian art at Musée Guimet. He helped the establishment of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. He later worked as Director of Kyoto Bijutsu Kōgei Gakkō and Director of Art Section of the Imperial Museum.

²⁵² 「明治時代の初期は美術などは世間から殆んどかへり見られなかった。美術などといふ語も無論使はれては居なかつたが、御維新當時は書畫などに注意するものは全く無かつたと云ふてもよい。」 (Saitō 1994, 58).

The new experimental measures introduced were the Kyoto Hakurankai (Kyoto Exhibition), Kyoto-fu Gagakkō (Kyoto Prefectural Painting School) and Seimikyoku (Research Centre of Chemistry).

Exhibitions (Hakurankai)

Makimura Masanao (1834-96)²⁵³, the second Mayor of Kyoto Prefecture, played an important role in development of industries in Kyoto. Without him, Kyoto would not have been able to undertake the series of new measures for the encouragement of the art industry. In 1871, Kyoto became the first place in Japan to host a Hakurankai (exhibition).²⁵⁴ Three leading merchants in Kyoto, Mitsui Takayoshi (1808-85)²⁵⁵, Ono Zensuke VII (1831-87)²⁵⁶ and Kumagai Naotaka (1817-75)²⁵⁷ planned it.²⁵⁸ They obtained permission from Kyoto Prefecture to hold an exhibition in the Ōjoin (large drawing room) of Nishi Hongan-ji temple (fig. 2-4). Notice boards in fifteen places such as Yokohama, Osaka, Kyoto, Otsu and Kobe, invited a wide range of visitors:

²⁵³ Makimura Masanao was born as a samurai of Chōshū domain. He became *Daisanji* (Chief Counsellor) of Meiji Government in Kyoto at the Meiji Restoration. He was the Deputy Mayor of Kyoto in 1875 and then was Mayor of Kyoto in 1877 for four years. He focused on improvements in education and industrial development of Kyoto. He was a member of *Genrōin* and of *Kizokuin* (the House of Lords).

²⁵⁴ Kornicki highlighted that many events similar to exhibitions were held many places in Japan during the Edo period (Kornicki 1994, 171-181). The 1871 Kyoto Exhibition was the first example using *hakurankai* as the title (Kuni 2005, 23-25).

²⁵⁵ Mitsui Takayoshi was the eighth head of the Mitsui family. He established the foundation of the Mitsui Combine by the end of the Edo period. After the Meiji Restoration, he founded Mitsui Bank and Mitsui & Co., Ltd., the First Bank of Japan.

²⁵⁶ Ono Zensuke is a merchant from Takashima in Shiga Prefecture. The Ono family was a successful trader of cotton, gold, safflower and silk from the late seventeenth century. Ono Zensuke VII was in charge of accounts of Tokugawa government along with Mitsui and Shimada families. At the Meiji Restoration, Ono group was one of financial backbones of the Meiji government. In 1873, Ono and Mitsui group established the First National Bank.

²⁵⁷ Kumagai Naotaka is the seventh head of incense merchant Kyūkyodō. Charles Wirgman met a man named Kumagaye, an official personage, connected with the First Kyoto Exhibition in 1872. He said 'He [Kumagaye] has not quite hit off the present fashion, as he wears a blue flowered silk coat and waist coat; but he has never been out of Kiyoto.' One man in the illustration, *Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures at Kyoto, Japan* (fig.2-6), resembles the description. (Bennett 2006, 200-201)

²⁵⁸ Tanaka Yoshio mentioned that Ninagawa Noritane motivated them to plan having a *hakurankai* in Kyoto (Ninagawa 1933, 36).

Western countries have an excellent custom of hakurankai. Newly developed machinery, antiques, and various other things are put on display to all, thus spreading knowledge and encouraging people to improve and to profit from the inventions. Wishing to follow this good example, we sought the prefectural governor's permission to hold something similar, and now plan to exhibit to the public a collection of old and unusual things from Japan and China. [We] do not know the extent of the universe and the distance between the present and ancient time. It will broaden your knowledge and your eyes and heart will rejoice once these objects are examined. We therefore hope men and women of all ages visit the exposition many times...²⁵⁹

This makes clear that this exhibition was copied from exhibitions in Europe. The organiser published a catalogue of exhibited objects, and Makimura wrote a preface for the catalogue.²⁶⁰ It was open from the tenth day of the tenth month, to the eleventh day of the eleventh month in 1871.²⁶¹ The 374 exhibits included 166 Japanese objects, 169 Chinese objects and 40 European objects.²⁶² 11,211 visitors came to see the exhibition. It ended with unexpected profit.²⁶³

After the success of the event, Kyoto prefecture together with some private companies established Kyoto Hakurankaisha (Kyoto Exhibition Company) for organising annual exhibitions in Kyoto. Dai 1 kai Kyoto Hakurankai (the First Kyoto Exhibition) was held on the tenth day of the third month, 1872 at six sites including buildings of Nishi Hongan-ji, Chion-in and Kennin-ji temples (fig. 2-5). The 2,485 objects were exhibited and 2,096 objects were from Kyoto. It was originally planned for fifty days but later extended for thirty more days due to popularity. 31,103 Japanese visitors came and attracted 770 foreign

²⁵⁹ 「西洋諸國ニ博覽會トテ新發明ノ機械古代ノ器物等ヲ普ク諸人ニ見セ知識ヲ開カセ新機器ヲ造リ専売ノ利ヲ得サシムル良法ニ倣ヒ一會ヲ張ント御廳ニ奉願和漢古器珍品ヲ書院ニ陳列シ廣ク貴覽ニ供センコトヲ思フ夫レ宇宙ノ廣キ古今ノ遠キ機器珍品其數幾何ナルヲ知ラス幸ニ諸君一覽アラハ知識ヲ開キ心目ヲ悅ハシメ其益頗ル廣大ナリ故ニ大人幼童共ニ幾度モ来覽ヲ希フ而已」 (Kyoto-fu 1972, 40). Part of the translation is by Kornicki (Kornicki 1994, 190).

²⁶⁰ Mitsui 1871, 1-2.

²⁶¹ Daigaku Nankō planned an exposition in 1871, but the plan never materialised (Kitazawa 1989, 55-56).

²⁶² Variety of objects was exhibited including weapons, armours, paintings, books, ceramics, etc. The main lender of the Western objects was Léon Dury. The actual number of Chinese objects was less, because Kanō School paintings were somehow included in the category of Chinese objects.

²⁶³ The profit was 266 ryō 2 bu 1 shu (Kyoto-fu 1972, 51).

visitors.²⁶⁴

For the first time since the Meiji Restoration, foreigners were allowed to visit Kyoto.²⁶⁵ At the time, they were not allowed to travel any further than 10 *ri* (40 km) from any trading port. The nearest port to Kyoto was Kobe, which had opened in 1868, but the distance between Kobe and Kyoto was much further than 40 km. Kyoto Prefecture, thus, specially allowed foreign visitors to come into Kyoto and also asked if they were interested in participating in the exhibition.²⁶⁶

Charles Wirgman (1835-91)²⁶⁷, a correspondent artist for *Illustrated London News*, was one of 770 foreigners who visited the exhibition. The *Illustrated London News* of 19 October 1872 shows Wirgman's description of the Exhibition with an illustration of the site in Chion-in temple (fig. 2-6).

As the rain fell in torrents all day, it seemed a very proper day to devoting to an exhibition. ... Having paid for and received a ticket, which is printed in English and Japanese, I went in and took a view of the first gallery, containing the armour. The sketch I send you is like a history of Japan. ... Thus, you have Japan past, present, and future, in one sketch. Any remarks of mine would be needless; it is for everyone to draw his own conclusions.²⁶⁸

From this description, his enthusiasm as one of the first foreigners to enter Kyoto can be observed. Opposite some armour, many everyday objects including several ceramic wares, are illustrated.

On the tenth day of the tenth month of 1871, exactly the same day as the first exhibition opening in Kyoto, the first exhibition in Tokyo began. It was held in Yushima

²⁶⁴ 10 British, 17 French, 66 American, 23 German, 9 Dutch, 10 Belgian, 10 Chinese and 1 Indian visited the venue of Nishi Hongan-ji temple (Kyoto-shi 1975, 129).

²⁶⁵ Only a few foreigners, mainly national guests, were allowed to visit Kyoto before the exhibition.

²⁶⁶ Kyoto-fu 1972, 43-44.

²⁶⁷ British painter. Wirgman was born in London. After serving for the Army, he became a correspondent of *Illustrated London News* and was sent to China. In 1861, he followed Alcock to Yokohama. He reported various topics of his experiences in Japan to *Illustrated London News*. He also taught western style paintings to Japanese painters such as Takahashi Yuichi (1828-94) and Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847-1915).

²⁶⁸ Bennett 2006, 200-201.

Seidō Confucian Shrine in Ueno (fig. 2-7 and 8). Hakubutsukyoku (Department of Exposition) of the Ministry of Education was the organiser. The exhibition was a rehearsal for the Vienna International Exposition, which Japan was participating in the following year. The exhibition was held for twenty days and over 600 objects were displayed. Having attracted so many visitors, the number of tickets was later limited and the duration was extended thirty more days. In the end, the total visitor number reached 150,000.²⁶⁹ Considering the fact that the two exhibitions opened on the same day, there must have been rivalry between them. As a result, the exhibition in Tokyo attracted more visitors although the size of the event was smaller.²⁷⁰

The results at Yushima Seidō were good enough to make the government commit to organising even larger exhibitions for industrial development. NIE I was held in Tokyo in 1877 (fig. 2-9), the Second in 1881 and the Third followed it in 1890. Bijutsukan (the Art Gallery), designed by British Architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920), was built in Ueno for NIE II (fig. 2-10).²⁷¹ All exhibitions in Tokyo recorded better results than any contemporary Kyoto Exhibitions. While the number of visitors to the Kyoto Exhibition decreased over the years, the first three NIEs increased in number successively.²⁷² In terms of the scale, Kyoto was unable to compete against Tokyo.

Kyoto did not stop organising prefectural exhibitions, but introduced a new tactic. It was to insist on their right to become the venue of NIE IV. On 19 September 1892, Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai (Kyoto Association of Commerce and Industry) published *Daiyonkai naikoku kangyō hakurankai ha Kyoto ni kaisetsu suruno tekitō tosuru ikensho* (fig. 2-11). In the preface, it states the reason for publishing.

²⁶⁹ Appendix 2-1.

²⁷⁰ Appendix 2-2.

²⁷¹ This western style building later became the Imperial Museum. The ceramic fountain depicted in the centre of the prints is the prize winning piece by Miyagawa Kōzan I. The building was destroyed by the Great Earthquake in Tokyo in 1923. See Tseng 2008 for further details of the establishment of the Imperial Museum and its building.

²⁷² Appendix 2-2 compares the number of visitors to Kyoto Exhibitions and to the first three national exhibitions in Tokyo.

In August, the government decided to take turns with the venue of the National Industrial Exposition amongst three prefectures (Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka) after NIE III. Therefore, it was unofficially decided that the fourth exhibition would be held in Kyoto, NIE V will be held in Osaka and NIE VI will return to Tokyo. It is not necessary for our Chamber to publish our opinion, but there are many superficial criticisms of the fact that Kyoto holds the next exhibition, and we consider these criticisms as absurd and inappropriate.²⁷³

This comment reveals that there was a competition to become the venue for NIE IV.

Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka were competing against each other. In the article, Kyoto protested that they only had a few opportunities to see new industrial techniques compared to Tokyo because all the previous venues were in Tokyo. It explains that the original reason for the national exhibition was to compare products of different areas of Japan in order to improve the level of skills. Tokyo and the area around Tokyo had a geographical advantage over other parts of Japan. It demanded a change of venues every time, for the industrial development of Japan.²⁷⁴ At the end of the book, there is a list of members of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Seifū Yohei III is listed as a representative of Tōjiki Shōkō Tatsumigumi (Tatsumi group of Commerce and Industry of Ceramics).²⁷⁵ Eventually this request was accepted by the government and NIE IV was granted to Kyoto in 1893.

Art Schools (Bijutsu Gakkō)

The Meiji Restoration brought a transformation of art education in Japan. During the Edo period, art education depended on the system of apprenticeship and private schools. Any samurai, for example, would have learned at painting classes run by a master painter or

²⁷³ 「去八月我が政府ニ於テ、第四回以後ハ三府輪廻ノ順序ニ依リ開設スルコトニ決シ、而シテ其第四回ヲ京都ニ、第五回ヲ大阪ニ開キ、第六回ヲ東京ニ復シ、更ニ順次輪廻スルコトニ内定シタレバ、本會ハ最早敢テ意見ヲ発表スルノ必要ナキガ如シト雖モ、世ニハ博覽會ヲ京都ニ開設スルヲ以テ、不條理不適當ト漫論妄評スル者往々之アレバ (後略)」 (Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai 1892, preface).

²⁷⁴ Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai 1892, 1-2.

²⁷⁵ Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai 1892, 38.

calligrapher employed by their domain. Non-samurai would choose a painter they liked and normally became an apprentice, or joined classes run by private painters. Social status reflected with which painter they could study.²⁷⁶ Edward Sylvester Morse interviewed Kōno Bairei (1844-95)²⁷⁷ at Bairei's private painting school in Kyoto in August 1882.

I found Bairei, who is a teacher, in the midst of a class of pupils, who were busy with their work, all on the floor with their copies in front of them, many of them being boys of twelve or younger. Some of the older pupils, he told me, had been with him for years. The pupils come at eight o'clock in the morning, leaving at noon in the summer and at 5 P.M. in the winter, every day except Sunday, which has lately become a holiday. The price of tuition is thirty cents a month, and the teacher supplies paper, brushes, ink, colours, etc. In three years the pupils learn to copy well. The first lessons consist of simple lines, diaper work, and the like. The next year they paint flowers; after that mountains and scenery; and finally figures, first drawing drapery, then the nude figure from life. Some of the pupils come from the artisan class, such as potters and others whose occupations demand designs or decoration; the other pupils come from the samurai class. Mr. Bairei has twenty pupils in his daily class, besides a few who practice at their houses and bring their work to him once a week for criticism.²⁷⁸

As explained here, the system of apprenticeship developed throughout the Edo period and provided art works for their patrons. The school of Kōno Bairei was probably one of the few which operated quite well in the Meiji era because of the fame of the owner. After the Meiji Restoration, the system also became difficult even for the master painters to keep running workshops and private painting schools. It was caused by the temporary but severe decline of the art market due to the regime change. Accordingly, there was an emerging demand for public schools to teach painting.

In 1876, Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō (Art School in the Imperial College of Engineering)

²⁷⁶ Sakakibara gave a detailed explanation on the system of art education in the Edo period (Sakakibara 1990, 108-110).

²⁷⁷ Kōno Bairei studied the Maruyama School painting under Nakajima Raishō (1796-1871), then the Shijō School painting under Shiokawa Bunrin (1801-77). He became independent at the age of sixteen and opened a private painting school. He proposed to establish Kyoto-fu Gagakkō in 1879 and taught at the school. He published an art journal, *Bijutsu sōshi* (Art Journal), with Tomioka Tessai and Ernest Fenollosa. In 1893, he was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in*. Bairei trained many leading Kyoto painter of the early twentieth century such as Takeuchi Seihō (1864-1942), Taniguchi Kōkyō (1864-1915), Tsuji Kakō (1870-1931) and Uemura Shōen (1875-1949).

²⁷⁸ Morse 1917, 260-261.

was established in Tokyo. This school was the first public art college in Japan. The college was established by request of Italian Minister Alessandro Fè d'Ostiani (1825-1905).²⁷⁹ Industrial Minister Itō Hirobumi (1841-1909)²⁸⁰ received the proposal from Fè d'Ostiani suggesting employment of Italian teachers for art education.²⁸¹ Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō was founded on 6 November 1876. Three Italian artists, Antonio Fontanesi (1818-82)²⁸², Vincenzo Ragusa (1841-1927)²⁸³ and Giovanni Vincenzo Cappelletti (dates unknown)²⁸⁴, were employed. However, the school closed after eight years due to various financial and political problems (fig. 2-12).²⁸⁵

In 1880, Kyoto Prefecture established the second public art school in Japan. Kyoto-fu Gagakkō was the first public school to teach Japanese-style painting. The motives of the foundation of the school were different from Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō in Tokyo, where foreigners directed the Japanese government. In 1878, Tanomura Chokunyū proposed that Makimura Masanao establish a public painting school in Kyoto (fig. 2-13). In the following

²⁷⁹ Alessandro Fè d'Ostiani was the Italian Minister to Japan from the tenth month, 1870 to March 1877. He developed a collection of Japanese paintings during the stay in Japan and the collection is now in Galleria d'arte moderna e contemporanea in Brescia.

²⁸⁰ Itō Hirobumi is the first Prime Minister of Japan. He was born in Hagi domain and studied under Yoshida Shōin (1830-1859). In 1863, Itō studied at University College London. After the Meiji Restoration, Itō worked for foreign affairs as he was fluent in English. He was the first Mayor of Hyōgō Prefecture, the first Industrial Minister, long time Prime Minister, a member of *Genrōin*, the President of *Sūmitsuin* (Privy Council) and the first Resident General of Korea. In 1909, he was assassinated at the Harbin Station in Manchuria.

²⁸¹ Kumamoto 1940, 10.

²⁸² Italian painter Fontanesi taught the western style painting at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō from 1876 to 1878. He was born in Reggio nell'Emilia, Italy. In 1855, he went to Paris and studied at Ecole de Barbizon, and then he moved to Firenze. After teaching paintings at Albertina Royal Academy in Torino, he was employed by Japanese government to teach oil painting at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō.

²⁸³ Italian sculptor Ragusa taught basic skills in sculpture such as use of plaster and stone carvings at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō. He returned to Italy when the school was closed in 1882.

²⁸⁴ Italian Architect Cappelletti was one of three Italian artists employed to teach at Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō from its establishment in 1876. He designed the Yūshūkan within Yasukuni shrine and Sanbōhonbu (Military Headquarter). He left Japan in 1885.

²⁸⁵ The closure of the school was caused by following three reasons. Firstly, the school was not under control of the Ministry of Education, but was under Kōbu-shō (the Ministry of Engineering) focusing on developments of industrial art. Thus, the school was not interested in fine art that three Italian artists could offer. Secondly, Seinan War in 1877 caused a significant decrease in the budgets for cultural administration. The school's development plan was cancelled and it was the main reason for Fontanesi's resignation in 1878. Thirdly, a rise of nationalism brought about a distaste for western oil painting. After Ernest Francisco Fenollosa advocated the superiority of Japanese painting, western painting lost favour in Tokyo. As a result, the school was closed in December 1882 (Nakata 1979. Kitazawa 1989, 79-84).

month, four master painters in Kyoto, Kōno Bairei, Mochizuki Gyokusen (1834-1913)²⁸⁶, Kubota Beisen (1852-1906)²⁸⁷ and Kose Shōseki (1843-1919)²⁸⁸, also requested that the mayor establish a prefectural painting school (fig. 2-14). Tanomura Chokunyū and the four painters explained that the development of art industry depends on the younger generations, because any industrial products are decorated with paintings. Traditionally, apprenticeship was the only training ground for young painters, but it became financially difficult even for master painters to look after apprentices.²⁸⁹ Having received these requests, Makimura undertook fund-raising from major business owners in the ceramic and textile industries to find out if there was enough demand and support for the school. He invited ninety-three business owners to ask for donations in December 1879. They included six potters, Kiyomizu Rokubei, Irie Dōsen III (dates unknown)²⁹⁰, Kanzan Denshichi (1821-90)²⁹¹, Takahashi Dōhachi, Nishida Ihachi and Kinkōzan Sōbei.²⁹² In the following year, Kyoto-fu Gagakkō was founded inside the Imperial Palace. Kubota Beisen explained the event in *Beisen gadan*:

Because paintings in Kyoto was on the decline at the time [in the early Meiji era], Kōno Bairei and I planed to establish a painting school. Having received approval from Mochizuki Gyokusen and Kose Shōseki, I made

²⁸⁶ Shijō School painter Mochizuki Gyokusen was the fourth head of the Mochizuki family in Kyoto. He advocated the establishment of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō with Kōno Bairei.

²⁸⁷ Kubota Beisen was a painter studied under Suzuki Shōnen and Suzuki Hyakunen. He was a founder of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō and a founding member of Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai. In 1890, he moved to Tokyo and worked for Kokumin shinbunsha as an illustrator. He visited Chicago International Exhibition, and the First Sino-Japanese War as a correspondence where he produced many sketches.

²⁸⁸ Kose Shōseki was born in Kyoto and studied Kishi School painting under Kishi Renzan (1804-59) and literati-style painting under Nakanishi Kōseki (1807-84). He supported the establishment of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō and taught at the school. He also taught at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō between 1889 and 1894. Shōseki was famous for his bird-and-flower painting and Buddhist painting.

²⁸⁹ Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku 100 nenshi Hensan Inkai 1981, 190-191.

²⁹⁰ Irie Dōsen worked in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. Since around 1875, Irie started to focus on production of ceramic wares for chemical experiment.

²⁹¹ Kanzan Denshichi was born in Seto. He was invited to Kotō kiln when Ii Naosuke gathered fine artisans for the kiln. He worked for Kotō kiln until its closure in 1862, then moved to the Kiyomizu-Gojō district in Kyoto. He soon became the leading potter in the area and was commissioned to produce wares for the Kyoto Prefectural Office in 1868. Wagener helped him to use western overglaze enamels. The operation of his factory was hit by the deflation from 1881 to 1884 and the Kanzan Factory was closed in 1889.

²⁹² Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Inkai 1981, 192.

trips to various masters to ask their support. Being rejected as a young activist, I could not make them agree with our plan. Luckily, it was the time of Mayor Makimura, who was a workaholic and delighted to hear anything about the West. I persuaded [the Mayor to help establishing the school] by referring to an example of the West.²⁹³

The first principal of the school was Tanomura Chokunyū. Courses were divided into four different schools of painting. The Eastern school: Mochizuki Gyokusen taught Tosa School and Maruyama Shijō School. The Western School: Koyama Sanzō (dates unknown) taught oil painting. The Southern School: Taniguchi Aizan²⁹⁴ taught Japanese Literati School. The Northern School: Suzuki Hyakunen (1828-91)²⁹⁵ and Kōno Bairai taught Kanō and Sesshū School. The list of the lecturers of the school included all the important Kyoto painters from the Meiji era.²⁹⁶ Ground plans of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō by Tanomura Chokunyū and Kōno Bairai depict four rooms separated by the different schools (fig. 2-15 and 16). However, not all the schools were considered equal. There was strong emphasis on Tanomura Chokunyū's Southern School and Kōno Bairai's Northern School, the two mainstream painting styles in Kyoto at the time.

Kyoto-fu Gagakkō played an important role in providing skilled painters for the art industries in Kyoto. On 12 October 1889, *Yomiuri Shinbun* (*Yomiuri Newspaper*) reported:

Because artistic quality is demanded nowadays, ceramic painters in Kyoto consider that it is inadequate for them to just practice traditional ceramic designs, which tends to degrade quality. From now on, they will practice the

²⁹³ 「其の頃京都の絵画が非常に衰退して居ましたから、私と幸野楳嶺と計って画学校を起さうと思ひ、望月玉泉・巨勢小石など賛成して私が諸大家の所を説回ったが、全で今の壮士の様に排斥されて一向賛成しないが、幸ひ其頃榎村の知事の時分で大層仕事好きで、西洋の事といふと喜ぶ人であつたから、夫で西洋のことなど例にひいて説きつけた。」(Kubota 1902, 222)

²⁹⁴ Taniguchi Aizan is a painter of literati-style painting. He was born in Ecchū and went to Edo at the age of eighteen. He apprenticed himself to Tani Bunchō and called himself Bunsai. He also studied under Takaku Aigai (1796-1843). He travelled around Japan and settled in Kyoto in 1847 where he studied under Nukina Kaioku. In 1880, he became a teacher at Kyoto-fu Gagakkō also contributed to the establishment of Nihon Nanga Kyōkai

²⁹⁵ Shijō School painter Suzuki Hyakunen was born in Kyoto and studied painting under Kishi Renzan (1804-59). Hyakunen united styles of different schools and established Suzuki style. Imao Keinen and Kubota Beisen are Hyakunen's students.

²⁹⁶ Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Hyakunenshi Hensan Iinkai 1981, 177.

styles of established schools of painting and try to be successful by achieving fame as ceramic painters of Kyoto in the future... Young boys and unskilled members of the ceramic painter's union will put aside some money every month as school tuition fees. They will study at Kyoto-fu Gagakkō in order to advance their skills (fig. 2-17).²⁹⁷

This article clearly explains that many graduates of the college found work in ceramic or textile firms as designers, while most apprentices of master painters made careers in the professional art field.²⁹⁸ Because of the importance of the ceramic industry, Seifū Yohei III worked as a board member of the school along with other Kyoto potters.²⁹⁹

Seven years after the establishment of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō, Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō (Tokyo Art School) was founded in Ueno in 1888. Because there has been much research already on the subject, this thesis does not discuss the school in detail. It therefore only puts an emphasis on the fact that the Tokyo Art School excluded western style oil painting and Japanese literati painting from the curriculum.³⁰⁰ A few months before the announcement of the establishment of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Kuki Ryūichi lectured in Kyoto. In the lecture, he raised a question quoted at the beginning of this chapter questioning where the centre of the Japanese art needs to be. Kyoto must have felt it unfair since their Kyoto-fu Gagakkō was partially funded by private supporters. Similar to the situation in exhibitions, Tokyo again had financial advantages because the funds came directly from the government. Nine years

²⁹⁷ 「京都ノ陶器畫工ハ近頃美術ノ喧マシキニ連レテ (中略) 唯ダ陶器風ノ繪ヲ習練スルノミニテハ俗ニ流レテ不都合ナレバ今後ハ必ラス真正ニ何カ派ノ立チタル畫法ヲ學ビ将来京都陶器畫ノ名譽ヲシテ益々世ニ著ルシカラシメント企画シ (中略) 同組合中ノ少年及ビ未熟ノ人々ハ各自毎月相應ノ金圓ヲ齎集シ之ヲ積立テ學資トナシ京都府立畫學校ヘ通學シテ大ニ其技ヲ練ルヨシ」 (Marusu Shōkai 1890, 11).

²⁹⁸ The school was handed over to Kyoto-shi in 1889 and became Kyoto-shi Gagakkō (Kyoto City Painting School). Even though the name of the school changed several times over the years, the school remained as the leading art school of Kyoto. In 1950, the school was renamed as Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku (Kyoto City Art University).

²⁹⁹ Kinkōzan Sōbei, Itō Tōzan, Takahashi Dōhachi are named as board members (Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku 100 nenshi Hensan linkai 1981, 178).

³⁰⁰ Fenollosa would have played a leading role in the exclusion of the two painting styles. It has been suggested that he was involved with the closure of Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō, the first western style art school in Japan. He also denied the artistic significance of a large part of Japanese literati painting. Western painting was later included in the curriculum of the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō in 1896 after the return of Kuroda Seiki from Paris. However, Japanese literati-style painting was never taught.

after posing the question, Kuki presented his answer:

The situation of the arts in the two capitals is not the same. Each city has its own characteristics, and their strengths and weaknesses are not the same. If they can make up for the weakness of the one with the strength of the other, they will come closer to perfection. However, in reality the difficulties are akin to those of assimilating the language and customs of both capitals in a short period of time...I am not suggesting mixing the regional strengths of the two capitals, but rather I hope that the capitals of East and West will compete with each other by making good use of their distinctiveness and thereby improve together.³⁰¹

As Kuki suggested, Tokyo and Kyoto took a different path to stimulate the arts and there was always rivalry between the two capitals.

This section has discussed two aspects of art administration in the early Meiji era. It is probably enough to glimpse Kuki Ryūichi's concern about the rivalry of Tokyo against Kyoto or vice versa. The relationship was always competitive rather than cooperative at least for the first thirty years of the Meiji era. In the early Meiji era, Tokyo often followed what Kyoto did, but introduced it on a much larger scale.³⁰² Such a rivalry between the East and West in Japan accelerated the industrial development of Japan as a whole. It is important to note that this might not have been possible without the funds Kyoto received in exchange for Emperor Meiji's move to Tokyo.

The Ceramic Industry

When the issue of rivalry is brought into consideration for the discussion of ceramic production in the Meiji era, a new insight into the field opens. The purpose of the

³⁰¹ 「両京に於ける美術のありさま、従ひてまた同じからず。各その特色を具して、またおのおの異なりたる長短得失を併有するものあり。もし迭に他の長所を探りて、己が病處を補はしめば、両者おのおの完全なるに近かるべきも、實際に於て然らしむるの難きことは、なほ両京の言語風俗をして、一朝直に同化せしむるとするの容易ならざるに同じからむ。(中略)余はこの両京の地方的特色を以て、強て混同合和せしめむとするに非ず、各その特長を主として東西相對峙し進歩せむことを望む」(Kuki 1897, pp.5-6).

³⁰² These competitions would not be found only between Tokyo and Kyoto, but also among all the prefectures. Cross-regional examination will be necessary for further research.

following discussion is to examine the differences in the development of ceramic wares of the two cities. Tokyo is considered one of the leading centres of ceramic industry. Ceramic specialists in Tokyo and nearby areas, Yokohama in particular, have been considered key figures in the development of modern ceramics. Kyoto, on the other hand, has received less focused although its importance is at least the same as Tokyo.

Firstly, this part focuses on the development of the ceramic industry in Tokyo. It regards German Chemist Gottfried Wagener as the focus. His importance for the development of ceramic technology is truly remarkable as repeatedly mentioned in previous publications. Secondly, the relationship between Wagener and Kyoto potters is examined. It has seldom been pointed out, but the impact of Wagener and his students in Kyoto were rather different from what has been discussed previously. Lastly, the chapter will discuss the creative activity of Seifū Yohei III within this context of rivalry.

Gottfried Wagener

To begin with the ceramic industry in Tokyo before the Meiji Restoration needs to be briefly introduced. Ceramic production probably began by c. 1500, and certainly by c. 1600, but kilns were only able to produce either earthenware or stoneware.³⁰³ The first successful attempt to produce porcelain in Edo was in 1863. Fukushima Masabei (dates unknown) learned porcelain production in Seto and built a porcelain kiln inside a residence of the Kameyama domain. He found porcelain clay in the Amagi area of Izu and had it transported by ship to Edo. However, the kiln was forced to close in a few years, as the domain demanded return of the site. The first porcelain kiln in Edo was therefore only

³⁰³ Roof tiles were already produced in the twelfth century at the bank of Sumida River. Imado-yaki was begun in Tenshō era (1573-92). Although roof tiles were their main products, the kiln also produced low fired ceramic vessels. Then, several kilns operated in Edo including Irie Kenzan kiln founded in the mid Kyōhō era (1716-35), Kōrakuen kiln in the Hōreki era (1751-64), Edo Banko kiln in the Tenmei era (1781-88), and Sumidagawa kiln in Bunsei era (1789-1829).

operated for a few years.³⁰⁴ Porcelain was not produced again in Edo until Inoue Ryōsai I (1828-99) from Seto began in 1875. Porcelain production began in Arita and Kutani during the seventeenth century. Even in Kyoto, where no porcelain clay was available on site, it began certainly by the early nineteenth century. Thus, porcelain production in Tokyo began very late. This raises the question how Tokyo suddenly became one of the important centres of ceramic production in the Meiji era.

The opening of the five ports in 1858 (Ansei 5) and the report of the Paris International Exposition in 1867 made the Meiji government realise the popularity of Japanese ceramics in the West. In order to develop the industry, many ceramic specialists and young students were gathered in Tokyo either officially or privately. Most leading potters in Tokyo and Yokohama were not originally from the area. They mostly moved to Edo around the time of the Meiji Restoration. For instance, Miyagawa Kōzan I (1842-1916) was born into a well-established ceramic family in Kyoto. In 1870, merchants from Satsuma domain invited Kōzan to start a kiln in Yokohama. Inoue Ryōsai I, who started producing porcelain in Tokyo, was from Seto, as were Inoue Ryōsai II (c. 1845-1905)³⁰⁵ and Katō Tomotarō. Gottfried Wagener was from Germany. Takemoto Hayata was probably the only leading potter in Tokyo who was originally from Edo. Most important potters were therefore either from outside of Tokyo or completely new to the ceramic industry when they started. Among these potters, this chapter focuses on Gottfried Wagener. Without his instruction, Tokyo would not have developed such a strong presence in the ceramic field.

Because of the absence of a ceramic industry in Tokyo, the government focused on the development of this industry. It included employment of European specialists and establishment of educational institutions. For both purposes, Gottfried Wagener played a

³⁰⁴ Tatebe 1906, 18-20.

³⁰⁵ Inoue Ryōsai II was adopted by Inoue Ryōsai I. He moved the kiln from Asakusa to Yokohama. In 1900, he went to Paris as a member of the Japanese delegation to the 1900 Paris International Exposition. He spent a couple of years researching in Sèvres, and also visited Britain and Russia. He died in Asakusa in 1905 soon after his return from the trip to Europe.

leading role. He has been considered the father of Japan's modern ceramic industry. His role in the ceramic industry is similar to that of Ernest Francisco Fenollosa (1853-1908)³⁰⁶ in the development of Japanese painting.³⁰⁷ Two memorial monuments to Wagener in Kyoto and Tokyo prove Wagener's contribution to the development of Modern Japanese ceramics (fig. 2-18).³⁰⁸

In 1868, Wagener came to Nagasaki to help establish a soap factory, which American merchants had planned. The project ended in failure, but then he was hired by the Saga domain in 1870 in order to introduce western ceramic production techniques in Arita. There, Wagener built the first coal kiln in Japan. As the kiln ended in failure, the contract was not extended after four months. Wagener then moved to Tokyo and became a teacher at Daigaku Nankō (the predecessor of Tokyo University). In 1872, he was appointed as one of the chief advisors of the government for the Vienna International Exposition in 1874 and worked closely with influential government officials of the art industry such as Sano Tsunetami (1823-1902) (fig. 2-19).³⁰⁹

³⁰⁶ Fenollosa arrived in Japan in 1878 and worked as a lecturer in philosophy at Tokyo Teikoku Daigaku. He helped to found the Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō and involved with various official activities in Japanese arts and cultures. Fenollosa returned to the United States in 1890, and became Head of the Oriental Department of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Published widely on Japanese art in both English and Japanese.

³⁰⁷ The exhibition *Kindai yōgyō no chichi: Gottfried Wagener to bankoku hakurankai. (The Father of Modern Ceramics: Gottfried Wagener and the International Expositions)* in 2004 examined the significance of the German chemist in the development of the ceramic industry of Japan. Much of the following biography of Wagener is based on the exhibition catalogue (Aichiken Tōji Shiryōkan Gakugeika 2004).

³⁰⁸ Inside Okazaki Kōen (Okazaki Park) in Kyoto, there is a stone monument to Wagener built in 1924 by Kyoto Prefecture. *Dr. Gottfried Wagener den* was published by Ueda Toyokichi in the following year. Another memorial is inside Ōkayama Campus, Tokyō Kōgyō Daigaku (Tokyo Institute of Technology). It was built by his followers in 1937.

³⁰⁹ Sano Tsunetami was the first president of Ryūchikai (The Dragon Pond Society) and the founder of Red Cross in Japan. Sano was a samurai of Saga domain. He studied schools in Saga, Kyoto, Osaka, Kii and Edo as a young samurai. After return to Saga in 1853, he became the head of the Naval Office. He joined Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1867 and saw Western technology in military, industry and shipbuilding. In 1870, he was employed as an army officer and developed the structure of Navy, but soon discharged from the position. In 1872, he became responsible for preparation of international expositions and organised the exhibition at Yushima Seidō. In 1873, he visited Vienna International Exposition. In 1877, he asked Prince Taruhito of Arisugawa for a permission to establish Hakuaisha (predecessor of Red Cross). In 1879, he joined the establishment of Ryūchikai and became the first president. He was the President of *Genrōin* after 1882; a member of *Sūmitsuin* after 1888; Minister of Finance (1880); and Minister of Agriculture and Commerce (1891-92).

Wagener first worked on the development of Japan's ceramic industry. He was a project manager in the production of ceramic wares for the exposition. For a preparation of the exposition, Hakurankai Jimukyoku (Exposition Secretariat) in Tokyo summoned two Kyoto potters, Kanzan Denshichi and Tanzan Seikai in 1872. They presented the ceramic wares of Kiyomizu-Gojō and Awataguchi districts in Kyoto. Later, Hakurankai Jimukyoku ordered Kyoto Prefecture to send undecorated white ceramic wares to Tokyo. They considered that the quality of the overglaze decoration they saw was not sufficient. They thus came up with a plan to put overglaze decoration in Tokyo on the undecorated Kyoto wares at a newly established porcelain factory established in Asakusa. Over ten painters, including oil painter Hattori Kyōho (dates unknown)³¹⁰ were employed to add Western style overglaze decoration (fig. 2-20). The kiln was called *Tokyo Kingama* (Overglaze Kiln of Tokyo) and it was the beginning of *Tokyo etsuke* (Overglaze decoration of Tokyo) which became the mainstream of the ceramic industry in Tokyo. Undecorated ceramic wares were not only brought from Kyoto, but also from Satsuma, Seto and Arita.³¹¹ Eventually these products were exhibited in Vienna. A photograph of Japanese ceramic wares exhibited in Vienna shows typical Satsuma style ceramic wares (fig. 2-21).

Secondly, Wagener proposed to send young potters abroad to study Europe's modern ceramic production. Three trainees, Nōtomi Kaijirō (1844-1918)³¹², Kawahara Chūjirō (1849-89)³¹³ and Tanzan Rikurō (1852-97)³¹⁴, were sent to the Vienna International

³¹⁰ Ceramic painter Hattori Kyōho studied painting under Tsubaki Chinzan. He is known as the first ceramic painter succeeded in using western overglaze enamels. He was invited to work in Arita in 1869 and Seto in 1871. Hattori became the Factory Manager when the Japanese government produced ceramic wares with overglaze decoration in Tokyo for the Vienna International Exposition.

³¹¹ Sato 2004, 6-7.

³¹² Nōtomi was a ceramic engineer and governmental official in the Meiji era. He worked as a secretary for the Vienna International Exposition. After returning from Europe, he joined the foundation of Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo. He taught not only European techniques including slip casting but also introduced the importance of design. See Fujita 1999 and Uji 2000 for further details of Nōtomi Kaijirō.

³¹³ Kawahara was a ceramic engineer and industrialist in Arita. He became the manager of the Yokohama branch of the Arita Porcelain Company in 1870. After visiting the Vienna International Exposition in 1873, he joined the establishment of Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo. He returned to Arita in 1878 and joined the establishment of Seiji Gaisha in 1879.

Exposition in 1873 (fig.2-19). After visiting the exposition, they went to Bohemia, studying slip casting and overglaze techniques; then Nōtomi and Kawahara went to Sèvres, learning the French production process. Tanzan alone stayed in Bohemia.³¹⁵ After their return to Japan, Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo (Ceramic Laboratory and Training School, Institute for the Encouragement of Industry and Commerce) was established in Tokyo, 1874 with support from Shioda Makoto (1837-1914)³¹⁶ and Kawahara Noritatsu, who had been to Vienna with Wagener. The main purpose of this centre was to teach new techniques of modern ceramic production. Students were gathered from ceramic production areas such as Kyoto, Ishikawa, Aichi, and Saga. Nōtomi and Kawahara taught the latest techniques they had learned in Europe. The centre was closed due to financial crisis in 1877, and the facility was sold to Nōtomi Kaijirō and Shioda Makoto. It was renamed as Edogawa Seitōjo (Edogawa Ceramic Factory) and continued to teach European-style ceramic production to students.³¹⁷

Wagener left Tokyo and moved to Kyoto in 1878 receiving an invitation from the Kyoto Prefecture to teach at Seimikyoku (fig. 2-22). He was hired to experiment and introduce the latest European scientific knowledge. It seems that Wagener built the first coal kiln in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, but he only spent four years in Kyoto. When the centre was closed in 1881, he decided to go back to Tokyo.

Wagener soon found a teaching job at Tokyo University. In 1882, he taught a course in ceramic production at the newly established Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō (Tokyo Polytechnic,

³¹⁴ Tanzan Rikurō is a son of Tanzan Seikai. See Satō 2007 for biographical details of Tanzan Rikurō.

³¹⁵ All the arrangements for the three trainees were made by Wagener (Sato 2004, 9-10).

³¹⁶ Shioda was born in Edo. He visited Vienna International Exposition in 1873 as an officer of the Exposition Secretariat. He established Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo in Tokyo. After the closure of the laboratory, Shioda with Nōtomi Kaijirō, Kawahara Chūjirō and Katō Tomotarō established Edogata Seitōjo. Shioda was a leading ceramic engineer in Tokyo and encouraged the introduction of modern techniques.

³¹⁷ Edogawa Seitōjo was a ceramic company established in 1877. In 1877, Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo was closed due to financial difficulties. Shioda Makoto and Nōtomi Kaijirō resigned their governmental posts and continued to teach European style ceramic production. As the main focus of this company was experiment and education, the operation of the company was not smooth. In Meiji 14, Shioda's home caught fire. In 1884, the company was closed.

predecessor of the present Tokyo Institute of Technology) in Asakusa (fig. 2-23 and 24). Two years later, he was given a professorship and became the Chief Director of the Ceramic and Glass Department.³¹⁸ A Chinese official, Chen Yiqing (dates unknown), visited the school in 1892 and published a report *Dong you ri ji* (Diary of Travelling the East) in 1900. Chen listed a number of experimental facilities for ceramic production in the Ceramic Department of the school.³¹⁹ The department provided a number of specialists in ceramic engineering. Not only had they trained Japanese students, but also foreign students from other Asian countries. For example, Chang Hao, who was a Chinese graduate of this program, built the first coal kiln in Jingdezhen in China in 1913.³²⁰

While instructing young potters in the school, Wagener also worked as a potter and participated in a number of exhibitions. In 1883, he started experiments in firing a new type of ceramic ware with his student Ueda Toyokichi (1860-1948).³²¹ His purpose was to create high-fired ceramic wares with underglaze polychrome decoration, which only a handful of kilns in Europe had successfully made, although the Chinese had been using such colours for centuries. It appears that he recorded certain successes within a few years. In 1886, he participated in an exhibition and called his kiln Azuma-yaki. Three years later, he renamed his kiln Asahi-yaki. Probably in the late 1880s, Wagener managed to gain satisfying results in underglaze polychrome techniques.³²² Fig. 2-25 is one of Wagener's works from his Azuma-yaki period. There is a seal of Azuma in the footring of the plate. It shows the piece was made between 1885 and 1887. The design is known as 'Moon over Musashi-no' and was probably copied from a painting by Kanō Tanyū (1602-74). A large plate with three men dancing *Kashima Odori* (*Kashima Dance*) is based on the painting by Hanabusa Itchō

³¹⁸ The Ceramic and Glass Department was situated at the south corner of the school (fig.2-24).

³¹⁹ Chen 1900, 40-41.

³²⁰ Nōshōmushō Shōkōkyoku 1914, 2-3.

³²¹ Ueda studied ceramic engineering under Wagener at Tokyo University. In 1915, Ueda became the Manager of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre. He then became the first director when the laboratory became national institution in 1919. Ueda taught at Kyoto Imperial University (predecessor of Kyoto University) and Kyoto Kōtō Kōgei Gakkō.

³²² Satō 2004, 8-9.

(1652-1724) (fig. 2-26).³²³ Some pieces from the kiln have overglaze gold and red bands around the rim, probably added to hide unglazed edges, because the pieces were fired upside down. This new technique of underglaze polychrome decoration was received highly from its public debut. *Hokuriku Shinbun* (*Hokuriku Newspaper*) reported:

Asahi-yaki is a special type of ceramics invented in Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō. It is completely different from traditional Japanese ware. The best aspect of the ware is the painting. It copies even the highly detailed painting by old masters as if painted by the master painters. Already by June, [Asahi-yaki wares] was appreciated very highly in the market and a number of orders has reached the level at which the kiln has found almost impossible to fulfil.³²⁴

The overglaze and underglaze polychrome decoration is one of the keys to understanding ceramic wares in Tokyo. Gottfried Wagener was at the centre of the introduction of the technology. In 1890, Department of Agriculture and Commerce gave Wagener a generous reward of 1,500 yen for his technical achievement and success.³²⁵ It seems uncommon for a government to give a monetary reward to a private business owner. It is perhaps a good example of Wagener's strong connection to the government.

While working on his own works at his kiln, Wagener continued to teach Japanese potters. These students of Wagener later performed well in the ceramic field. In the late Meiji era, a number of public institutions for industrial training and laboratories for industrial experiments were established. Many students of Wagener were sent to these institutions and put great efforts into the modernisation of the ceramic industry. As mentioned above,

³²³ *Kashima odor* is a type of dance or dancers who perform the dance. They spread the divine message from the god of Kashima for the first three days of year. They wore *eboshi* hats and *kariginu* costumes and marched along the street while playing drums. Hanabusa Itchō was a painter of the Edo period. He was born as a son of a doctor in Osaka. The family moved to Tokyo in 1667 and he leaned Kanō School painting under Kanō Yasunobu (1613-85). He later worked as a popular painter of quasi-Kanō style.

³²⁴ 「旭焼ハ此程東京職工學校ニテ研究發明シタル一種特別ノ陶器ニシテ從來我國使用ノ陶器トハ全ク相異ナル由ナルガ其他ノ陶器ニ比シテ最モ優絶ナル所ハ圖畫ニアリテ模様ノ極メテ緻密ナル古人ノ名畫ヲモ其マヽ模寫シ恰モ名家ヲシテ陶器ニ描カシメタルニ異ナラザレハ既ニ當六月己來ハ頗ル世上ニ好評ヲ博シ殆ンド其註文ニ應ジ兼ヌル程ニ至リタリト」(Marusu Shōkai 1890, 31).

³²⁵ Marusu Shōkai 1890, 25.

Kawahara Chūjirō, Nōtomi Kaijirō and Tanzan Rikurō were sent to ceramic factories in Europe after the Vienna International Exposition. Their pioneering efforts in the modernisation of the industry are worth pointing out. Kawahara Chūjirō moved to Arita and built the first European style ceramic factory in Japan. The factory, Seiji Gaisha (Fine Porcelain Company), imported ceramic production lines including the latest machinery from Limoges, France. Leading potters of the area such as Fukaumi Suminosuke (1845-86), Tsuji Katsuzō (dates unknown) participated in the factory. Nōtomi Kaijirō is devoted his life to the establishment of four Kōgyō Gakkō (Industrial Schools). He worked as the first principal of the following four schools: Kanazawa-ku Kōgyō Gakkō (Kanazawa Regional School of Industry) established in 1887 (fig. 2-27), Toyama-ken Kōgei Gakkō (Toyama Prefectural School of Craft) established in 1894 (fig. 2-28), Kagawa-ken Kōgei Gakkō (Kagawa Prefectural School of Crafts) established in 1898 (fig. 2-29) and Saga-ken Kōgyō Gakkō (Saga Prefectural School of Industry) established in 1901 (fig.2-30). Due to geographical disadvantages, these regions were behind in the industrialisation and modernisation. Nōtomi devoted his life to the industrial development of these areas.³²⁶

There were also Wagener's students in Tokyo Daigaku Rigakubu (the School of Science at Tokyo University). Nakazawa Iwata (1858-1943)³²⁷, a leading Scientist at the time, worked together with Wagener at Tokyo University. Nakazawa, then, went Germany to study science and chemistry between 1883 and 1885. After coming back to Japan, he moved to Kyoto University and was a life long supporter of Wagener. Ueda Toyokichi was one of their students. Ueda worked as an assistant for Wagener until Wagener's death in 1892, and took over Asahi-yaki.

A group photograph shows Gottfried Wagener with his students from Tokyo

³²⁶ Uji gave a detailed discussion of the activities of Nōtomi Kaijirō (Uji 2000, 116-118).

³²⁷ Scientist. Nakazawa Iwata studied at University of Berlin, Freiberg University of Mining and Technology and National Porcelain Factory in Meissen. After returning to Japan, he taught at Daigaku Nankō, Kyoto Imperial University (Predecessor of Kyoto University) and became the first President of Kyoto Kōtō Kōgei Gakkō.

Shokkō Gakkō (fig.2-31). It includes Kitamura Yaichirō (1868-1926)³²⁸, Hirano Kōsuke (1871-1947)³²⁹ and Fujie Eikō (1865-1915).³³⁰ They can be considered the second generation of Wagener's students. Kitamura Yaichirō spent a large part of his career teaching at Ishikawa Kōgyō Gakkō (Ishikawa Prefectural School of Industry, previously called Kanazawa-ku Kōgyō Gakkō). Kitamura taught modern techniques in ceramic production and Itaya Hazan was one of his students. Kitamura is known for ceramic works with crystalline glaze, which was popular in Europe in the 1890s and 1900s (fig.2-32). Hirano Kōsuke learned under Wagener at Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō from 1888 and was considered the successor of Wagener. Hirano is famous for designing a dome kiln for Itaya Hazan. Fujie Eikō later moved to Kyoto and became the first director of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre. Fujie spent half his life modernising the ceramic industry in Kyoto.

Gottfried Wagener died in 8 November 1892 in Tokyo; these students of Wagener continued to be influential in the ceramic industry. They filled the major administrative positions at training and research institutions. In addition, they also published widely in the field. Gottfried Wagener and his students controlled national development plans for the ceramic industry throughout the Meiji and Taishō era. They were all in a position to direct what kinds of ceramics need to be produced for the success of Japanese ceramics in the world market. The most important aim was industrialisation and modernisation. The centre of these activities was always in Tokyo and this academic knowledge was spread from Tokyo to other ceramic production centres.

³²⁸ Kitamura Yaichirō was born in Kanazawa and studied under ceramic engineering Wagener at Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō. Kitamura worked for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce in 1892 and then became the President of Seto Tōki Gakkō and then taught at Ishikawaken Kōgyō Gakkō. Itaya Hazan was his colleague. Kitamura visited Limoges and Sèvres during his trip to France in 1902. Kitamura was employed by Shōfū Tōki Gōshi Gaisha in Kyoto in 1917. he became the technical advisor of the company. Kitamura specialised not only in ceramics, but also in glass, tiles and cement.

³²⁹ Hirano Kōsuke was born in the Owari domain. In 1888, he entered Tokyo Shōkkō Gakkō and studied under Wagener. After graduation, he taught at Tokyo Kōgyō Gakkō.

³³⁰ Fujie Eikō was born in Kanazawa and studied Science at Ishikawa Kenritsu Senmon Gakkō. In 1886, Fujie entered Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō and studied under Wagener. After the graduation he worked for the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce and then taught at Tokyo Kōgyō Gakkō. One of the founders of Dai Nihon Yōghō Kyōkai. In 1896, Fujie became the first Director of Kyoto-shi Tōjiki Shikenjō.

Compared to the development of the ceramic industry in Tokyo, Kyoto took a different path to development. Unlike Tokyo in the Edo period, Kyoto already had a firm industrial structure. The industry adjusted to the existing structure with a series of changes at the time of the Meiji Restoration. Potters in Kyoto, for example, quickly developed markets for export wares.³³¹ In terms of education for young potters, however, Kyoto did not require educational bodies for a long time. In addition, potters considered each other to be rivals and it was difficult to share original methods, which were mostly secrets, with outsiders including neighbouring potters. The establishment of educational institutions was not thus smooth as in Tokyo. It is not surprising that Wagener and his students were involved with all the public attempts for improving the Kyoto ceramic industry throughout the Meiji era. However, it is remarkable that these attempts often ended in failure.

In 1870, Seimikyoku was established in the city centre of Kyoto. The name *seimi* came from the Dutch word *chemie* for chemistry. It was the second Seimikyoku established in Japan after the first one in Osaka.³³² The main building, completed in 1872, demonstrated production of various products such as soap, rock sugar, soda, glass, bleach, photography and beer.³³³ The centre employed Gottfried Wagener in 1878.³³⁴ He was in charge of teaching chemistry in relation to ceramics and cloisonné. He built various kilns inside of Seimikyoku and a ceramic factory in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. The first coal kiln in Kyoto was built inside the factory but ended in failure. Spending only four years in Kyoto, Wagener went back to Tokyo.³³⁵ Mashimizu Zōroku II described the event:

Mr. Wagener, a German man, came to Kyoto and built a ceramic kiln inside

³³¹ Aoki 1913, 460.

³³² Osaka Seimikyoku was established in 1868.

³³³ Murai 1979, 208.

³³⁴ Wagener was recommended by a German trading company, H. Ahrens & Co., a German trading company in Tsukiji, Tokyo. The company was famous for trading Japanese crafts, ceramics in particular. The company had branches in Yokohama and Kobe.

³³⁵ Aichi-ken Tōji Shiryōkan Gakugeika 2004, 137. In 1880, Makimura Masanao stepped down from the position of the Mayor of Kyoto Prefecture, and Kitagaki Kunimichi (1836-1916), the next Mayor, introduced many changes in the policies of art industry. Wagener lost his job and went back to Tokyo.

Seimikyoku (Prefectural). He failed and fled to Tokyo.³³⁶

Mashimizu's account sounds harsh, but must have contained a certain amount of truth.

During his time at Seimikyoku in Kyoto, there is no evidence that Wagener worked closely with leading potters. Only two names of known potters, Eiraku Wazen (1823-96)³³⁷ and Irie Dōsen III, appear in the records of his experiment. At the closure, Wagener and his students took a group photo. There are twenty-one students, but no known potters (fig. 2-33). This suggests that there was a certain distance between Wagener and Kyoto potters.

In 1887, Kyoto Tōki Gaisha (Kyoto Ceramic Company) was established in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. The company started with capital of 200,000 yen and hired over 120 employees. It was the first company in Kyoto using a modern industrial factory for mass-producing ceramics for daily use. The factory originally aimed at the production of ceramic ware for the export market. The director was Nina Keisuke and the head of the factory was Satō Tomotarō, a student of Wagener. Satō studied industrial production techniques and purchased a whole production line in Limoges. He trained the employees for two months while a French specialist directed the construction of the factory.³³⁸ The company started the production lines in August 1889, but the first three firings all ended in failure. Satō and the French man were both immediately discharged.³³⁹ Again, no names of

³³⁶ 「獨逸人ワクネル氏が京都に来り、舎密局（官立）に於て陶窯を築きて失敗して東京へ退走したことがあった。」 (Mashimizu 1935, 76).

³³⁷ Eiraku Wazen was the oldest son of Eiraku Hozen, and the twelfth head of the Eiraku Zengorō family. His career is separated into four periods: the Omuro period between 1852 and 1865, when he worked in the old kiln site of Nonomura Ninsei in Omuro in Kyoto; the Kutani Eiraku period between 1865 and 1870, when he worked at the Kutani Hongama of the Kaga Daishōji domain; the Okazaki Eiraku period between 1872 and 1878; and the Kikutani-gama period after 1882. Wazen worked in various styles including the Swatow style, Ming Chinese blue-and-white style, *shonzui* style and *kinrande*-style. In addition, Wazen is famous for introducing new designs and styles into *chanoyu* wares. He invented a technique to print polychrome textile pattern onto ceramics entitled *nunome* style.

³³⁸ Marusu Shōkai 1890, 1-2.

³³⁹ The facility, which was imported from France, required highly skilled specialists. Many workers were skilled potters in traditional methods. Later, two specialists from Seto took over Satō and built a Seto style kiln. The name of the company remained, but most of original employees left the company. (Fujioka 1962, 61-62. Mashimizu 1935, 76).

leading potters in Kyoto appear among the founders of the factory.³⁴⁰

In 1892, Harris Rikagaku Gakkō (Harris School of Physics and Chemistry) was founded inside of the Dōshisha University for training scholars and specialists at the ceramic industry. It was funded by an American specialist, J. N. Harris. One of the lecturers of the school was Asukai Kōtarō (*b.* 1867), who was a ceramic engineer educated in France and another student of Wagener from Tokyo Shokkō Gakkō.³⁴¹ According to Katō Yogorō (1869-1956)³⁴², who studied at the school, students boycotted Asukai's class for the reason that they could not stand to be taught by a graduate of a polytechnic, a lesser academic institute compared to the Dōshisha University. The school built a ceramic kiln inside the school complex, but it was used only for a half a year.³⁴³ The curriculum for the ceramic course was based on Tokyo Kōgyō Gakkō (Tokyo Industrial School), but was considered too academic and was soon changed to focus more on practical training. This school closed after five years and only a handful students graduated from the ceramic course, and they do not include any known potters.³⁴⁴

Following these activities related to ceramic education, it appears that Wagener tried to modernise the ceramic industry of Kyoto as he did in Tokyo. Wagener spent four years in Kyoto, but his contribution to the modernisation of the ceramic industry is not clear. Then, Wagener's students were sent to Kyoto, but no one made a great impact either. It appears that there were several reasons for the unpopularity of Wagener and his students in Kyoto. This feud began in the beginning of the Meiji era. As mentioned earlier, Hakurankai Jimukyoku for the Vienna International Exposition, of which Wagener was the main member, rejected overglaze decoration of porcelain wares from Kyoto. Kyoto Prefecture was ordered

³⁴⁰ Fujioka 1962, 55-57.

³⁴¹ Asukai is better known for his contribution to the development of the Japanese cement industry.

³⁴² Katō was born in Aichi. Having studied at Harris Rikagaku Gakkō and Kyoto Imperial University, Katō entered the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1903. He returned to Japan in 1906 and became a professor at Tokyō Kōtō Kōgyō Gakkō. He obtained about three-hundred patent rights. From the invention of ferrite, Katō was once regarded as Thomas Edison of Japan.

³⁴³ Mashimizu 1935, 76-77.

³⁴⁴ Fujioka 1962, 46-51.

to send undecorated porcelain wares to Tokyo and those pieces were decorated by painters in Tokyo. For potters in Kyoto, their pride as the leading potters of Japan must have been damaged by the decision.

When the government was preparing for the Exposition, Tanzan Seikai, one of the leading potters in the Awataguchi District, was ordered to edit a manuscript on ceramic production of Kyoto. In 1872, he completed *Tōki benkai* (Explanation of ceramics). It explains the ceramic production process in Kyoto with coloured illustrations and lists many glaze formulas.³⁴⁵ Seven years later in 1879, Tanzan Seikai inserted a postscript into the book.³⁴⁶ There, he explains that he added the postscript to protest against the official report of the 1876 Philadelphia Exposition published the same year. Beikoku Hakurankai Jimukyoku (the Secretariat of American Exposition), where Wagener was a member, edited the report, which consisted of five volumes. Wagener's report was in the first volume, and he described the ceramic products from different regions. In the third volume of the report, there is an essay by Nōtomi Kaijirō. In the essay, Nōtomi explains the superiority of the European ceramic production techniques to traditional Japanese techniques. Nōtomi wrote:

I hope to reform our traditional style and the clumsy and nonsense production-processes systematically by using fine machinery invented in Europe, selecting easier production methods and building a reliable dome kiln.³⁴⁷

Nōtomi here criticised ceramic wares in the exposition, namely ones from Kyoto. In response, Tanzan Seikai expressed his disappointment and objections:

The report of the exposition in America mentions that 'stoneware of Awataguchi district copies the overglaze decoration of foreign products and has lost distinctive characteristics.' It mentions stoneware of Awataguchi

³⁴⁵ The original manuscript is in the Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archive. The publication might have related to the fact that Tanzan Seikai was the father of Tanzan Rikurō, who was sent to Bohemia by Wagener to study modern ceramic production.

³⁴⁶ The original copy of the book is in Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

³⁴⁷ 「欧州ニテ發明セシ善良ナル機械ヲ使用シ簡易ナル製法ヲ取捨シ製實ナル立窯ヲ建設シテ漸次我那古流ノ最モ拙愚ナルモノヲ改革セント欲スル」 (Nōtomi 1876, 51).

district has lost its own distinctiveness. It also mentions that 'the stoneware is inferior to Awaji ware and the porcelain of the district is not durable.' It mentions that 'all the factories of the district only have four or five employees.' It mentions that 'mistakes would not be made if European principles were pursued.' It says that 'the principle has to be taught.' It mentions that 'European plaster casting and dome shaped kiln need to be used.' It insists on the inferiority of the Japanese dragon kiln. These mistakes are spread from the first to the fifth volume, but these misunderstandings would not be made if *Tōki benkai* had been consulted. It is a disgraceful attitude. The report has already spread around the country. Although the report is full of mistakes and biased comments, our ruler and government are also deceived...³⁴⁸

Clearly, Tanzan was disappointed to read the report of the exposition. He realised that his report on Kyoto ceramics, *Tōki benkai*, was never seriously consulted. He continues that:

A foreign employee [Wagener] edited the report of the Meiji ninth American exposition. This cunning man skilfully put his objectives in a fog, and never stops prattling about new plans. He has formed a group with our students. Or, he made students study abroad. These students perhaps try to acquire an aspect of the art. It is natural for them to be excited about the plaster mold and to try to catch a glimpse of the depth of the technique and would not be able to control the feeling. Or, they look at a factory and suddenly close their eyes. Their brain would be immediately spoiled, as they are impressed by the European soul in the dream of *Handan*.³⁴⁹ Soon after beginning the study, these students returned to Japan. What can they make? The Western employee does not know of the distinctiveness of our country... The European dome kiln is suitable for coal. It is based on their natural environment. Our dragon kiln is also related to our natural environment. It is convenient to fire pine firewood. The local climates are not the same and availability of firewood is not the same. I cannot refrain from laughing when I listen to these far-fetched arguments by those insignificant people.³⁵⁰

³⁴⁸ 「明治九年米國博覽會報告書ニ曰栗田ノ陶ハ外国ノ染色ヲ擬似而自國固有ノ風味ヲ缺トス曰直ニ破壊スト復曰淡路ノ製ニ劣ルト或ハ栗田ノ石磁其質堅固ナラズト總テ陶工毎戸使役人四五名也ト曰西洋究理ヲ為ハ過失ナカラント曰面而教導セント曰西洋模型ヲ用ヒ理学ノ堅密ヲ為ズト曰日本横密ノ至愚ヲ主張スト其數條ノ難一ヨリ五卷ニ至ル此責ヲ負荷而安禪ト陶器弁解ヲ纂考ス焉ンゾ耻ヲ識ラザルノ甚キ哉既ニ報告書天下ニ周布ス假ニ謬妄ニ属ストモ君子ハ欺レ庸人ハ誣ラル」 (Tanzan 1879, 53).

³⁴⁹ Old Chinese fable: People of Chao State (BC.403-AD.228) were famous for their stylish walking style. A young man of Yan State (BC.1100-AD.222) went to Handan, the capital of Chao State, to learn how to walk. Before mastering the walking style, he went back home. Not only had he learned the walking style, but also forgotten his original walking style. Then, he ended up crawling on his stomach to go home. Therefore the word *Handan* represents that it is worthless to learn a thing if the person did not finish the learning.

³⁵⁰ 「明治九年米國報告書ハ御雇外国人ノ編集ニ関ル夫ノ狡兒巧ニ五里ノ霧ヲ降シ絮々喃々執争ヲ述而止ス假令我國ノ生徒ト黨ヲ結ビ或ハ陶ヲ歐洲ニ桂往學為シムルトモ其生徒焉ンゾ方術ノ一隅ヲ得ンヤ必然石膏模型ニ首鼠而心悸シ先ツ蕪奥ヲ得タリト為ン抑未也或製造所ヲ視而突然瞑目シ忽焉ト頭腦腐敗シ邯鄲俗痴ノ夢中ニ歐魂ヲ顯シ入学暫時歸朝而亦何ヲカ製為ル

Tanzan complained that Wagener does not know much about Japanese ceramics. He also criticised that Wagener has spoiled young Japanese potters probably including his son, Rikurō. It is a strong denial of Wagener and his reforms. Within a year after this postscript was added, Wagener arrived in Kyoto to work for Seimikyoku to improve the ceramic industry. This incident was probably the sole reason of Kyoto's long-term denial of Wagener and his students.

The issue of accepting scientific knowledge and western techniques in ceramics continued to be important in the Taishō era. A similar opinion is found later. Suwa Sozan I (1851-1922)³⁵¹, the fourth potter *teishitsu gigei'in*, left a comment in 1920 on these ceramic scholars related to Wagener.

There are two types of celadon glaze, natural and artificial... In Japan, natural glaze has been replaced by artificial glaze, which is made based on the analysis of natural glaze. However, it is impossible to make the same glaze as natural glaze no matter how accurate the analysis may have become ... I liked to blow my own trumpet to the scholars. Knowledge from books and the reality do not match. Since the ancient times, great inventions were done by ones uneducated... Wagener, for instance, tried hard for nearly thirty years, but he still produced many failures. Today's scholars are careful not to fail and careful to create good-looking pieces, but I think it is better to find something after falling to the bottom and experiencing many failures.³⁵²

Although the date of his comment is slightly later than the period on which this thesis

乎哉御雇洋人ハ我國ノ固有全體ヲ不識（中略）歐洲ノ堅密ハ石炭使用ノ為ニ而地勢ノ自然ニ出ツ我國ノ横密モ風土ノ地勢ニ而待松檟ヲ燃ス便利ニ備フ一地球上寒暖異炭木ニ貧福有り嗚呼斗筭人ノ壓弁焉抱腹ニ勝哉」（Tanzan 1879, 54-55).

³⁵¹ Sozan was born in Kanzawa. He entered Kanazawa Kōkai Gakkō in 1872. Sozan went to Tokyo in 1875 and studied ceramic painting. He returned to Ishikawa prefecture in 1880 and taught at Kanazawa-ku Kōgyō Gakkō established by Nōtomi Kaijirō. In 1900, he moved to Kyoto in response to an invitation from the Kinkōzan factory. In 1908, Sozan opened a shop in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. Sozan was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1917.

³⁵² 「青磁の釉薬は、天然礦と人造とがあります（中略）日本では此の天然礦を分析し、人造品を以て代用する向が多いのですが、いかに分析しても、天然と同一のものを造ることは出来ません。（中略）私は學者をつかまへて、法螺を吹くのが好です。いかに書物上から理窟をこねても、實際さうはいかず、古來大きな發明は無學者がします。と（中略）ワグネルなどでも、三十年程骨折つて折つて、夫で失敗が多いのです。今の學者などは、怪我せんやう、外觀のよいやう加減してみますが、ナニ落る時はどん底まで落ち、失敗するなら何度でも失敗して、其底から或るものを攫むがよいです」（Kuroda 1920, 134-135).

focuses, it at least shows the gap between these scholars familiar with modern knowledge and potters in Kyoto trained in traditional methods.

Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre (Kyoto Shiritsu Tōjiki Shikenjō)

It is clear that Wagener believed in the importance in the modernisation of ceramic production in order to expand the export market, but it was certainly not welcomed in Kyoto for a certain period.³⁵³ Some of his students went to Kyoto after Wagener left Kyoto in 1881, and they often took important positions in schools or factories. However, they were neither successful nor welcomed. As long as the Kyoto ceramic industry were concerned, it was four years after the death of Wagener when major potters in Kyoto started to consider some aspects of Wagener's modernisation useful. The establishment of Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre in 1896, was the first successful occasion, when both academics and ceramists cooperated together (fig. 1-53).³⁵⁴

The centre was founded by the Kyoto City and Fujie Eikō, the first director, and Nakazawa Iwata, a supervisor, were both closely connected to Gottfried Wagener from the time when they were in Tokyo University. After the establishment of the centre, modern techniques were more freely introduced into Kyoto. The success of the centre was certainly helped by the involvement of leading Kyoto potters from the beginning. Nakazawa listed nine potters (Kinkōzan Sōbei, Tanzan Rikurō, Nishiyama Isuke, Yasuda Genshichi, Itō Tōzan, Takahashi Dōhachi, Kiyomizu Rokubei, Seifū Yohei, and Yoshioka Kichibei) and twenty-nine individuals who supported establishment of the centre.³⁵⁵

Several reasons could be suggested for this acceptance of plans pursued by Wagener's students in Kyoto. Firstly, it was time for a generation change. Kinkōzan Sōbei VI

³⁵³ Satō 2004, 7.

³⁵⁴ In 1919, The Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre was made a national institution under the control of the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce.

³⁵⁵ Fujioka 1962, 64.

(1823-84), Tanzan Seikai, Kanzan Denshichi passed away and Taizan Yohei IX³⁵⁶ closed the business. Nakazawa explains the point in his speech for the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre:

Around Meiji 24 and 25 (1891 and 1892), this field [Kyoto ceramic industry] was rather inactive after the deaths of elderly masters with fame, Kanzan, Tanzan, Kinkōzan and Dōhachi, and closing down of the Taizan kiln. ... Connoisseurs were anxious about the decline of *Kyō-yaki*. Influential figures in Kyoto were well informed about the situation. For instance, even if anyone wanted to recreate an imported object from abroad, required technologies were often unavailable [in Kyoto].³⁵⁷

Imagining the distrust of Tanzan towards Wagener, it was probably impossible to receive any prior support from these influential potters. However, this long-term refusal of modern technologies was probably seen as a distracting development in the struggle to compete against domestic and international competitors.

Secondly, the centre operated truly for the benefit of the local industry. Kilns were built for experiment. Any potters in the area were entitled to propose an experiment in new materials and techniques, and the board members selected which proposals would be granted. Experiments were undertaken free of charge as long as the annual budget allowed the centre to do so and the results were normally shared by the potters in the area. This system minimised the cost of experiments, which was a relief for potters in this rapidly developing industry.³⁵⁸ For most potters in Kyoto, there was a lot to gain, but nothing to lose from having the research centre.³⁵⁹

³⁵⁶ After the death of Taizan Yohei VIII of the Awataguchi district, the second son of Kiyomizu Rokubei III was adopted to the family and became Taizan Yohei IX. After the Meiji Restoration, Taizan kiln focused the production on mass-produced export ceramics.

³⁵⁷ 「明治二十四五年ノ頃ハ名声赫々タリシ幹山、丹山、錦光山、道八ノ諸老ハ逝キ帶山ハ業ヲ廢シテ斯界ハ稍々寂寞タリ（中略）世ノ鑑賞家ハ斯克モ京焼ノ衰ヘタルヲ憂ヘ京都在住ノ有力者ニ於テモ自然之ヲ諒知セラレ加之當時海外ヨリ輸入セル物品ト同一物ヲ造ラシメント欲スル者アリテモ之ニ応スヘキ技術ハ欠乏シテ能ハサルコト往々アリ」（Fujioka 1962, 63-64).

³⁵⁸ Fujioka 1962, 68.

³⁵⁹ Nakazawa Iwata listed four important contributions made by the laboratory. The laboratory introduced coal as an alternative fuel because the price of pine firewood was increasing. In 1898, the laboratory started to distribute Seger sui (Pyrometric cone) to potters in the area for free. Pyrometric

In 1901, the centre founded a system of *denshūsei* (assistant student), a program for young ceramists to learn modern knowledge in ceramic production. Students were required to learn chemistry, Physics and English while helping experiments in the centre. Early graduates included Takahashi Dōhachi V and Shinkai Rokurō (dates unknown). Shinkai was the fourth son of Seifū Yohei III.³⁶⁰ From 1915, Ueda Toyokichi, another student of Wagener took over the position as director. The assistant student program was the first successful example of an educational institution for potters in Kyoto. It took more than twenty years for Kyoto's ceramic industry to accept and to cooperate with academics.³⁶¹

Seifū Yohei III as a Kyoto Potter

Rivalry between Tokyo and Kyoto over arts administration and rejection of Wagener affected greatly the development of Kyoto ceramics. Seifū Yohei III was in the middle of these crucial events. He moved to Kyoto just after the fire burnt the city of Kyoto in 1864. He saw the protest over Emperor Meiji's move to Tokyo and could have been one of the demonstrators. As Seifū Yohei II entered works in the First Kyoto Exhibition in 1871, Seifū Yohei III would have started to participate in these exhibitions after becoming independent in 1872. He was a board member of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō and joined Kyoto's appeal to host NIE IV.

How did the competitive relationship between Kyoto and Tokyo affect the artistic activities of Seifū Yohei III? According to the development of his works discussed in the

cone is called Seger sui in Japan from the developer of the cone, Herman Seger (1839-93). It is used to detect kiln temperatures during firing. It greatly contributed in decreasing the number of kiln failures. Many materials were tested and became available. New types of ceramics were developed such as Awata clay with no crackles, Hanjiki (semi-porcelain), Kōshitsu tōki (ironstone ceramics), *kōshitsu jiki* (hard-porcelain fired over 1300 centigrade), Majolica ware and electrical insulator (Fujioka 1962, 69).

³⁶⁰ Fujioka 1962, 71.

³⁶¹ There has not been research into the reactions of other ceramic production areas to new knowledge and techniques. Regional development in ceramics requires such research.

previous chapter, he was certainly aware of the latest trends of the field. In order to receive good results at national exhibitions, he needed to create works appealing to academics in Tokyo, namely Wagener and his students. At the same time, he would not want to disturb master potters in Kyoto such as Tanzan, Kinkōzan and Taizan.

Under such circumstances, Seifū Yohei III took the middle path. He was officially following the decisions made by his elders in the area in 1870s and 1880s. While producing wares in traditional styles, he did not forget to develop advanced glazing techniques. Seifū Yohei III claims that he was interested in chemistry in his early career. It is not clear if Yohei was acquainted with Wagener or had access to Wagener's knowledge. However, it is certain that Seifū Yohei III's extensive researches on different coloured glazes in all underglaze, overglaze and inglaze decoration helped his successes in various exhibitions both domestic and international.

Yohei III knew that experimental facilities for development of the local industry were important for their survival. As soon as the old masters stepped down from the leading positions in the area and he received his nomination to *teishitsu gigei'in*, he actively promoted the establishment of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre. As an independent potter with a small workshop without owing a climbing kiln, he must have felt it difficult to keep up with the latest technical developments. He therefore made efforts to cooperate with students of Wagener for the establishment of a public facility for ceramic experiments, where traditional ceramics and modern technologies of Western ceramics met for the first time in Kyoto over twenty years after the Meiji Restoration. It was recorded that:

At the establishment of Kyoto-shi Tōjiki Shikenjō [Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre], [Seifū Yohei III] became a founding member. It was said that the materialisation of the plan was indebted to Yohei's tireless efforts.³⁶²

³⁶² 「京都市陶磁器試験場設立に際しては、創立委員となり、無事その設立を見たのは實に與平の奔走に負ふところが尠くなかったと云はれる。」 (Watanabe 1930, 17).

It was natural that he considered the importance of modern technologies, to keep improving his work. The Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre continued to be the centre of ceramic education in Kyoto and produced many leading ceramic artists in the twentieth century.

However, there was still a gap in the meaning of modernisation between Seifū Yohei III and Wagener's students. Wagener's teachings mainly focused on the introduction of processes of mass production in order to minimise production costs. They included coal kilns to lower the cost of fuel against increasing prices of firewood, and western plaster molding technique to lower the level of skill required for workers. Perhaps one of the few targets Yohei III and Wagener's students shared was the introduction of new ceramic materials such as artificial cobalt and many other coloured glazes, which Kyoto potters could easily apply in traditional methods. Wagener was involved in the application of new glaze materials and many of his students would become important pioneers in the field of glaze innovations.

Although two groups Despite his effort in modernisation of the industry, Seifū Yohei III was later made into a symbol of old traditional ceramics of Kyoto after his death. Nakazawa Iwata commented about Seifū Yohei III in 1916. It was during the speech Nakazawa presented for the ceremony of the twentieth year memorial of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre. He said:

Around the twenty-fourth year of Meiji (1891), only Seifū Yohei [III] alone managed to maintain the reputation of *kyō-yaki* with his distinctive works at NIE IV. Characteristic of Yohei's work is the sophisticated workmanship. His works do not have refined taste and quaint elegance like Rokubei and Dōhachi, and the technique is only possible by him. Even if someone managed to imitate or learned his techniques, it would not increase the number of speciality of the area. Additionally, Yohei was truly the unprecedented master, but was not a kind of person who could encourage colleagues and aim at the overall development of the industry.³⁶³

³⁶³ 「明治二十四年ノ頃ハ（中略）独リ清風与平ノ特殊ナル製作品ヲ以テ第四回ノ博覧会ニ京焼ノ名ヲ保チ得タルニ過キサリキ若カモ与平ノ長所ハ技工精緻ニシテ六兵衛、道八ノ如キ雅味ヲ帯ヒ古風ノ趣アルモノニアラサレハ其技芸ハ其人ニ限ルモノニテ之ヲ模シ之ヲ学フトテ土地ノ物産ヲ増加スルニ適セス又与平ハ正シク稀世ノ名工ナリシト雖モ同業者ヲ奨メテ事業全般ノ發展ヲ図ルヘキ器ニアラサリシナリ」 (Fujioka 1962, 63).

The ceremony was held less than two years after Yohei's death, but the comment still appears to be quite harsh. Considering the fact that Nakazawa Iwata was related to Wagener, it is probably an honest view of Seifū Yohei III by Nakazawa. He pursued the technical perfection within tradition, whereas Nakazawa and his colleagues focused more on mechanisation of the production process and put an emphasis on introduction of Western designs.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the issue of regional rivalry is clearly one of the main factors deciding the direction of arts of the Meiji era. Because of this rivalry, arts of the two capitals experienced different paths of development. In general, Kyoto often took the initiative in introducing new measures for modernisation of the industry. Many modernisation plans were introduced there first and some were copied later in Tokyo. In order to fully understand the regional rivalries, the role of other major cities such as Osaka needs to be examined further.

In terms of the ceramic industry, the Meiji government encouraged introducing ceramic factories in Tokyo and expected these manufacturers to play a leading role in modernising this traditional industry. Previous studies have emphasised on what was happening in Tokyo and placed the activities of other ceramic production areas such as Kyoto, Arita and Seto in subordinate roles. Those regional ceramic centres not only took much longer to modernise their production systems compared to Tokyo, but also the ways in which they adopted new techniques were not the same as Tokyo. Potters of these areas tended to welcome the introduction of modern technology at the beginning, but soon realised it requires huge financial resources and reconstruction of the industrial structure. Consequently, introduction of Western technology was often slower, partial and less significant than has been explained. Kyoto potters, for example, developed antipathy toward

Wagener's modernisation, because of the criticisms made by Wagener and his students over Kyoto ceramics. The feeling was reinforced by the series of failures by Wagener and his students in Kyoto in the first half of the Meiji era.

In the early Meiji era, Seifū Yohei III was following fellow potters and concentrated on establishing firm status in the field by taking advantage of new changes such as exhibitions and ceramic competitions. By the time of the retirement of the old masters when he took over the leading position, Yohei III was already considered one of the young leaders in the field. Then, Yohei III worked to reconcile Wagener's circle and the Kyoto ceramic industry. The establishment of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre was the result of his tireless efforts to make the latest technology available to Kyoto potters. However, the

Chapter Three

Japanese Export Ceramics for the Chinese Market

The ceramic market of the Meiji period can be divided into two categories, domestic and export. When it comes to export ceramics, Yokohama has been considered the main ceramic trading port of Japan during the Meiji era (fig. 3-1). It was opened in 1858 (Ansei 5) for the West as the port closest to Edo. The majority of foreign goods came through Yokohama and Japanese ceramic ware was one of the main items exported in return. However, it has seldom been pointed out that the amount of ceramics exported through Yokohama, in fact, decreased after the 1880s. The reason is the opening of Kobe Port in 1868 (fig. 3-2). The port developed quickly as the centre of international trade in the Kansai area, and became the leading port for exporting Japanese ceramics during the 1890s. It was the largest port for export ceramic wares especially for Europe and neighbouring Asian nations.

The issue of the transition of a leading international trading port from Yokohama to Kobe provides a new perspective to tackle the issue of the rivalry between East Japan lead by Tokyo and West Japan lead by Kyoto and Osaka. It also suggests another important export market for Japanese porcelain, namely China. Statistical records reveal that a huge amount of Japanese porcelain wares was exported to China after the 1880's.³⁶⁴ The aim of this chapter is to unveil the role of Kobe for exporting Japanese ceramics and the production of Japanese ceramic wares for the Chinese market. This chapter is divided into two parts. It will firstly look closely at the export of Japanese ceramics to China through the observation of historical materials. Secondly, it will focus on the development of Kobe and the role of Kobe for the ceramic trade between Japan and China.

Kyoto potters were interested in the potential of the export market even before the

³⁶⁴ All statistical records regarding Japanese export ceramics to the Chinese market, which this thesis uses, are from Japanese sources.

opening of Yokohama in 1858. The high-ranking samurai Kugai Masanori (1806-65), Inoue Masanobu (1840-56), Asano Nagayoshi (1816-80) and others ordered from Tanzan Seikai several thousand food dishes in 1856 (Ansei 3). These dishes were sent to Edo and then exported to Europe. However, they could not continue the project under the political upheavals in Kyoto during the last ten years of the Edo period.³⁶⁵

At the Meiji Restoration, many potters in the Awataguchi district transformed the production for the export market. Similar to other ceramic centres, the production of the Awataguchi district was affected by changes in the social structure. The impact was significant because their main clients were high-ranking samurai and court nobles. In 1871, Ozaki of Kin'undō in Kyoto bought ceramic ware made in the Awataguchi district and sold it to a foreigner, Furiki in Kobe.³⁶⁶ Kinkōzan Sōbei VI (1823-84) followed Ozaki and began selling his ceramic wares in Kobe in 1872.³⁶⁷ Kinkōzan explained how this family started the business with foreigners.

Around the first year of Meiji (1868), a foreigner, probably an American, visited us. Yet, we could not understand languages, but he spoke with my late father anyhow. My late father told the man his plan and showed some products. We decided to start foreign trade.³⁶⁸

Along with Kinkōzan Sōbei VI and VII (1868-1928), Taizan Yohei VIII (*d.* 1878) and IX (1856-1922), Yasuda Genshichi XV (dates unknown), Tanzan Seikai and many others in the Awataguchi district followed the trend (fig. 3-3). The gross sales of the Kyoto ceramic industry during the Meiji era show an increase in international sales from 1872 (appendix 3-1).

³⁶⁵ 「安政三年京都所司代久貝因幡守井上遠江守奉行浅野和泉守等陶器を歐州に輸出するの國利なるを談す青海氏之を賛し食器数千を製して江戸に送り之を歐州に輸出す是京都陶器の外國に輸出したるの始なり既にして國中攘夷の説盛んに起るを以て中絶す」(Sakurai 1891, 55).

³⁶⁶ No record has been found on Furiki.

³⁶⁷ Murata, 1898a, 480-481.

³⁶⁸ 「明治の初年頃、米国人でゐいましたか、一人参りまして、未だ言葉も分らぬ時分でムますが、兎も角亡父と談じまして、亡父はかねての計画を述べ、また製品をも示し、ここで初めて外国貿易に着手しようとの意思を確かめました」(Kuroda 1899, 331).

Within ten years, the ceramic production of the Awataguchi district was transformed. Itō Tōzan I, who later became the leading potter of the area, joined the Awataguchi district around 1882. He commented on the situation of the district:

At the time, Awata-yaki only produced those glittering export wares and the reputation had sunk low. The word Awata-yaki became as if equal to *kinpika* (glittering).³⁶⁹

They continued to produce these export Kyoto Satsuma-style wares throughout the Meiji era. However, sometimes, it was not a comfortable experience for some potters to produce wares ordered by Western dealers and customers. Itō Tozan expressed his feelings about producing export wares in 1899:

If [anyone] wanted to start exporting [ceramics] internationally, the only way would be to export art works. However, foreign taste in the arts is childish and [Westerners] do not understand refined beauty [of Japanese art]. [They] still admire the world of density [of motifs]. Many foreigners, if not almost all, who come to my shop, prefer items with detailed patterns of bright colours such as gold, purple and red without any blank spaces. An extreme one has ordered a piece with ten thousand butterflies even inside the footring. It is rather disappointing and I deplore producing wares ordered by foreigners. I do not have enough courage to work on such orders, and thus let trainees make them.³⁷⁰

A tea bowl with butterflies by Yabu Meizan would be an example of wares described in this comment (fig. 3-4, 5). Producing ceramics for the West inevitably affected the designs on products. When Satsuma-style ware is discussed, there is always the issue whether it is a type of Japanese ceramics after all. Foreigners were always involved in its designs. An

³⁶⁹ 「當時粟田焼といへば、あの金燦爛の貿易品ばかりで其聲價も低下り、粟田焼といへば、一概に金燦爛かといふようになつてゐる」 (Kuroda 1899, 282).

³⁷⁰ 「若し海外輸出を試みんとすれば勢ひ此美術品を輸出するの外に策なかるべし然るに外人の美術に對する趣味なるものは甚だ幼稚にして到底瀟洒の趣を解せず未だ濃厚の境に彷徨せるが如く余の店頭に来る外人の多く否殆ど全部は緻密なる模様を隙間なく描寫し金泥紫紅の色彩燦たるものを好み甚だしきは糸底の中にまで一萬匹の胡蝶を画かんことを注文するものあり實に情けなき話にして余輩は思はず外人の注文品を製作するの馬鹿臭を嗅ざるをあり従つて此の如き製品にはまさかに自ら手を下すの勇氣もなく半人前の職人をして製作せしむるより」 (Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1899a, 390).

advertisement of Yabu Meizan, a well-known Satsuma-style potter in Osaka, published in 1895 clearly states:

Yabu Meizan (Porcelain Painter,) Satsuma ware will be painted by order. ...
One price only (fig. 3-6, 7)

This argument certainly does not deny the existence of a Japanese domestic demand on Satsuma-style wares, but at least shows a large number of Satsuma-style ware was produced in response to such a foreign demand. The Awataguchi district continued to produce Satsuma-style wares for export to the West. A large incense burner by Kinkōzan Sōbei VII in the Tokyo National Museum has been described as one of the best examples (fig. 3-8). However, the above commentaries question to what degree such wares were representing Japanese tastes after all. As introduced in the introduction of this thesis, this type of ware made foreign collectors and scholars reluctant to collect or study Japanese ceramics in the early twentieth century.

On the other hand, the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, where Seifū Yohei III worked, made fewer export wares than the Awataguchi district. In the 1885 report, Kiyomizu Rokubei and Takahashi Dōhachi are the only two potters in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district who included foreign countries in their market. Less than twenty percent of their sales were exported to Western countries in 1885.³⁷¹ It appears that, generally speaking, the production of the Awataguchi district shifted to the Western market from the time of the Restoration, whereas the Kiyomizu-Gojō district, including the Seifū Yohei workshop, continued to produce wares

³⁷¹ *Kiyomizu-Gojō seitōka shuppin kaisetsu*, (*Information of exhibits by Kiyomizu-Gojō potters*) is in the collection of Kyoto Prefectural Library and Archives. The report is dated 1885. It lists details of the ceramic production of fourteen potters in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district. Among these fourteen potters, Kiyomizu Rokubei IV and Takahashi Dōhachi IV are the only two potters to list the western countries as one of the destinations of their products. The average sales of Kiyomizu Rokubei IV and Takahashi Dōhachi IV between 1881 and 1883 is in the report (Appendix 3-2). The average gross sales of Kiyomizu Rokubei IV was 2,050 yen and 17% of 350 yen were for western countries. The average gross sales of Takahashi Dōhachi IV was 823 yen and 13% of 105 yen was for western countries. The numbers reveal that a small part of their production was sold to western countries. The report also states that both Kiyomizu Rokubei IV and Takahashi Dōhachi IV produced only Japanese and Chinese style ceramic wares. It appears that the rest of the potters on the list claimed that they did not sell wares for export. If they did, the amount must have been very small. (Nakanodō 1981, 36-43).

for the existing domestic market, all earthenware, stoneware and porcelain.

Chinese Market

The Japanese ambassador Date Munenari (1818-92)³⁷² and the Chinese ambassador Li Hongzhang (1823-1901)³⁷³ signed a trading agreement on 13 September (29 July in the solar calendar) 1871. Japanese ports were officially opened to Chinese merchants. China was the seventeenth country with which Japan signed a trading agreement, but the first country to sign as an equal.³⁷⁴ Because of the agreement, the Chinese market was simply more profitable for Japanese traders. In the early Meiji era, Japanese ceramics were mainly exported to the West through foreign merchants residing in Yokohama. The export industry developed steadily until the time of the Matsukata Deflation. The deflation began in 1882 and continued for three years. Gross sales of export ceramics suddenly decreased (appendix 1-2). Around the same time, it seems that Japanese ceramic exports to China began.

Arakawa Mitsugu (1857-1949), Japanese consul to Tianjin, described in 1892 the beginning of Japan's export ceramics to China.

Having Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province as the largest porcelain production centre, this country [China] had not imported porcelain wares from other countries. In the sixteenth and seventeenth year of Meiji (1883-84), a trading channel was opened. Our porcelain wares such as *yunomi* (tea cups), *chawan* (rice bowls), *shō-kabin* (small vases), *futamono* (lidded vessels), *sara* (plates), *donburi* (large bowls) and so on were imported through Shanghai. At the time, the Chinese people vied with each other for Japanese

³⁷² Date Munenari was born in Edo as the second son of the Yamaguchi family of *hatamoto*. He was adopted to the Date family of the Uwajima domain and became the head of Uwajima domain in 1844 (Tenpō 15). At the Meiji Restoration, he was appointed a member of the first government of Imperial Japan. After the conclusion of the trading agreement with the Qing dynasty, he retired from politics.

³⁷³ Li Hongzhang was Chinese general and a leading officer of the late Qing dynasty. He was born in Anhui Province. After passing the official examination in 1847, he fought in the Taiping Rebellion. He became one of the generals of *Zhili zongdu* (the Viceroy of *Zhili*) Zeng Guofan (1811-72). Li succeeded the army of Zeng and the title of *Zhili zongdu* in 1870. In 1871, Li concluded the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with Japan. Li's army lost against Japan during the Sino-Japanese war. He concluded Treaty of Shimonoseki after the Sino-Japanese War in 1895 and Boxer Protocol after the Boxer Rebellion in 1901 on behalf of the Emperor of the Qing dynasty.

³⁷⁴ Chin 1887, 38.

porcelain because each piece was curious and beautiful as well as reasonable. Within a few months, Japanese porcelain was found at shops on the street, in rural villages and even in provincial cities. Therefore, some merchants, who deal with Jiangxi wares, worried about the future of their business.³⁷⁵

This comment describes how popular Japanese porcelain was in China immediately after it was imported to China around 1883.

In 1887, Utsumi Kichidō (1852-1925)³⁷⁶, a literati-style painter in Kyoto, wrote a proposal about the management of the newly established ceramic factory, Kyoto Tōki Gaisha, to use an imported ceramic casting machine from France.

I have been suggesting the advantages and disadvantages of trade with the Qing dynasty for a long time. In 1886 (Meiji 19), Sano Tsuneki³⁷⁷, the Deputy Manager of the Department of Commerce, came to Kyoto and recommended the export of porcelain to the Qing dynasty. Ishikawa Prefecture has already established the trading association of the Qing dynasty. ... Kanzan Denshichi of Kyoto plans to produce porcelain wares to export to the Qing dynasty. ... America occupies a large territory and their porcelain products are not enough for domestic demand. Thus, they import from France, Germany and Britain. ... The Qing dynasty also has a large territory, but their porcelain products are not enough for their domestic demand. In addition, thirty years ago, one-seventh of the land was burned to the ground during the Taiping Rebellion [1851-1864]. Only a few traditional porcelain wares by skilled potters are available for the aristocracy. The quality of their new porcelain products is far from the level of fine Japanese products. They fire earthenware in various places to substitute for the shortage of porcelain supply. It can be said that Japanese have more people working on porcelain production. Therefore, the business plan of the company is to export products to North America and the Qing dynasty. In addition, the total expense of the travel and transport fees to China is only one-fourth to Europe and North America. This is the reason why I insist on trading with the Qing dynasty. The benefits of this proposal rest on trade

³⁷⁵ 「當國ニテハ從來江西景德鎮ヲ以テ最大ノ磁器製造地トシ曾テ給ヲ他國ニ仰キタルコトナカリシニ（中略）明治十六七年ノ交始テ本邦磁器、湯呑、茶碗、小花瓶、蓋物、皿、井等上海ヲ經テ輸入セリ當時支那人ハ箇々珍奇美麗ニシテ其割合ニハ價直甚タ低廉ナリト稱シ先ヲ争ヒテ購買シ數月ヲ出テスシテ露店村舗若クハ内地僻遠ノ都邑ニ日本磁器ヲ見サルハナク為ニ江西製ヲ取扱ヘル商人等ヲシテ窺ニ前途ヲ憂慮セシムルニ至リシ」(Arakawa 1892, 67).

³⁷⁶ Utsumi Kichidō was born in Kyoto and studied under Shiokawa Bunrin (1801-1877). After finishing the apprenticeship, he travelled to China and studied paintings under Ren Bonian (1840-96). He married into the Ren family. He later returned to Japan and became known for his late Qing style literati paintings.

³⁷⁷ Sano Tsuneki was the first president of Nihon Menka Kabushiki Gaisha (predecessor of Sojitz Corporation) in 1892.

with the Qing dynasty.³⁷⁸

Utsumi Kichidō explains that China was not producing enough porcelain wares for their internal demand. After the Taiping Rebellion, the porcelain production of Jingdezhen had not yet recovered. While China was recovering from the scars of the civil war, Japan became the leading export ceramic production centre of Asia.

The export trade to China was not active during the First Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), but it soon recovered to 10 % of gross international sales in the early 1900's. Gross sales of ceramic wares are divided into destinations in appendix 3-3. It shows that in 1882, China already imported 76,043 yen worth of Japanese ceramics. It accounted for 13.1 % of Japan's gross international sales that year. The amount dramatically increased to 385,294 yen in 1887 when China took the first place, with close to 30 % of gross international sales. It was in response to the shortage of porcelain supply within China. In 1899, it is estimated that gross domestic demand for porcelain ware in China was around 3,000,000 yen and the gross output of Jingdezhen kilns was still around 2,500,000 yen.³⁷⁹ It is hard to believe now, but China was actually a country importing porcelain wares in the late nineteenth century.

Appendix 3-4 is a chart of the ceramic ware imported to China in 1902 divided by origin of production. It shows that Japanese ceramics took first place. The sales are larger than the total sales to all the European countries. The second largest origin of ceramic wares

³⁷⁸ 「余ハ清国ニ対スル貿易ノ利害得失ヲ首唱スルコト年久シ十九年始メテ商務局次長佐野常樹氏京都ニ来テ得ニ磁器ノ清国ニ輸出スベキ演説アリ又石川県ハ同年ニ於テ既ニ清国貿易商会設立ノ報告アリ (中略) 京都ノ幹山傳七ノ専門清国ニ輸出スル磁器ヲ製造セント企ルト (中略) 米国ハ巨大ノ版図ニシテ自国ノ磁器人員ニ給セス故ニ仏独英ノ輸入ヲ仰クコト多数ナリ (中略) 又清国モ巨大ノ版図ナレドモ原ヨリ自国ノ磁器人員ニ給スルニ足ラス加え三十年前長毛賊ノ乱ニ金国ノ七分ヲ灰燼トナシ古来精工ノ磁器ハ僅カニ王侯貴人ノ中ニ一ニ存セリ現今新製ノ磁器ハ日本ノ精工品ニ不及フ遠ク且各處ニ於テ土器ヲ製シテ以テ磁器ノ不足ヲ補ヘリ我日本ハ磁器ノ製造人員ニ超過セリト云可シ故に此会社製造品ハ米国ト清国ニ輸出スルヲ以テ方針トス且夫清国ハ最近国ニシテ旅行運輸一切ノ費用ハ欧米ニ比スレハ四分ノ一ニシテ足ル可シ是レ余カ専ラ清国貿易ヲ主張スル所以ニシテ輿論ノ益ス清国ニ傾向スル」 (Utsumi 1962, 57-58).

³⁷⁹ Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1899b, 433.

was Hong Kong. Hong Kong took third place in terms of the destination of Japanese ceramic wares in 1902.³⁸⁰ According to Kitamura Yaichirō, at least half of the ceramic ware imported to China through Hong Kong was Japanese.³⁸¹ A total of 60.3 % of all the ceramics imported to China was Japanese ceramics.³⁸²

These statistical records only reveal the size of the Japanese export ceramics to China and do not explain whether wares by Seifū Yohei III and other Kyoto potters were included. There is no publication mentioning Japanese ceramics from this period in any Chinese collections to prove there was an active ceramic trade between Japan and China. However, an 1895 report states that the main imports from Japan into Northern China were ordinary wares and into Hong Kong were *ganrō-butsu* (wares for appreciation and collection). Ceramic wares produced in Kyoto would have belonged to the latter category.³⁸³ Works by Seifū Yohei III and other Kyoto potters perhaps were included in wares exported to Hong Kong.

These statistical records have shown that many Japanese ceramic wares were exported to China. The thesis now examines what kind of ceramic wares were exported. Shioda Makoto visited China to inspect the business environment. He gave the following advice in 1906:

- 1: The Qing Dynasty has an extreme disparity of rich and poor. They only need high and low quality wares and do not need middle grade wares.
- 2: Both high and low quality wares need durability. Be aware of the fact that their products are all durable.
- 3: Every kind of ware including vases, incense burners, picture frames, candle stands, lamps, food bowls, sweet bowls, jars, cigarette stands, sake bottles and others has to be made as a pair. There is no buyer for a single object. A set of vase, incense burner and candle stand would not have a

³⁸⁰ See appendix 3-3. From 1892's record, the sales for Hong Kong were separated. Hong Kong was handed over to Britain from China at the Treaty of Nanjing after the first Opium War in 1842.

³⁸¹ This record suggests that some Japanese ceramics imported to Hong Kong were probably redistributed to other destinations.

³⁸² Kitamura 1929, 360.

³⁸³ Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1895, 13.

problem to sell.

- 4: Good painting or patterns are auspicious motifs: *shikunshi* (lotus, bamboo, plum and chrysanthemum), pine, peony, crane, peacock, phoenix, Chinese character of *ju* 寿 (long life), subjects of the Southern School paintings: paired motifs such as dragon and tiger are good.... Decoration [for ceramics] has to follow these instructions. The style of art nouveau must not be used.³⁸⁴

Furthermore, the August and September 1907 issues of *Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai zasshi* (Journal of Great Japan Ceramic Industry Association) included an article entitled 'Yushutsu-hin no seisaku ni oyobosu kaigai no fūshū' (Foreign Customs for the Use of Designing Export Wares). It explains the different customs and favoured designs of major cities in China where Japanese ceramics were imported. Niuzhuang in Liaoning Province, Tianjin, Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province, Shashi in Hebei Province, Chongqing in Sichuan Province, and Changsha in Hunan Province were introduced. This proves that at least in the early 1900s, Japanese potters did not just export whatever was available to sell, but had researched the Chinese market carefully.³⁸⁵ Some works were certainly made to fit the taste of different areas of China. There were three types of export wares for the Chinese market: ordinary everyday wares, European-style wares and Chinese-style wares.

A: Ordinary ware

The main Japanese exports to China were ordinary wares of low quality. According to the report of Arakawa in 1892, 85 % of imported ceramic wares belonged to this category.

³⁸⁴ 「第一 清國は上下貧富の度合甚しければ上等下等の二品として中等品は先不用のかたなり 第二 上下品共丈夫にして久しきに耐ゆる事彼國の製品は總て丈夫といふことには最注意して造り居れり 第三 花瓶、香爐、額、燭臺、ランプ、井鉢、菓子器、壺、莖立、徳利等何品も總て一對に造る事一個にては買人なし花瓶香爐燭臺各一個つゝにて三具足とする類はさまたげなし 第四 畫又は模様は四君子松牡丹鶴孔雀鳳凰壽の字等の目出度もの南宗畫の畫題にある (中略) 一對の畫も龍と虎の如きはよし凡右の心得にて裝飾する事アルヌーボーの類は決して用ゆべからず」 (Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1906, 577).

³⁸⁵ Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1907a, 387-399 and 1907b, 23-38. Each city is discussed in five areas: 1. general information on the city, 2. popular shapes, 3. popular designs, 4. popular colour schemes, 5. business customs.

Appendix 3-5 divides all the export ceramic wares into two categories, ordinary and fine. Unfortunately, we do not know the definition of ordinary and fine, but this chart at least provides a general idea of what types of wares were exported to China. This report includes imported ceramic wares to China from all countries. It again confirms the shortage of Chinese porcelain for domestic demand. On the other hand, 15 % of imported wares to China were in the category of fine quality. The definition of ordinary and fine is uncertain, but this at least explains that the majority was ordinary wares.

In 1892, Arakawa listed three Chinese merchants, and one of them was having pieces specially made in Japan.

The wholesalers of Japanese porcelain at this port [Tianjin] excluding Japanese ones were Bao Xiangshun, Wan Jukui, Heng Qisheng and so on, but many have stopped importing after loss in the past. Now, only Wan Jukui operates. Wan has branches in Kobe and Nagasaki. In Tianjin, they have the main office and a branch. They deal with porcelain from Hizen, Owari and Jiangxi, with various other products. Considering the taste of the inland clients, they send to Japan samples to have specially made.³⁸⁶

Chinese merchants were as involved in the design of Japanese wares as westerners were.

In 1905 and 1906, there were two reports on the Chinese ceramic market from China. A journalist in Tianjin, Inoue Takanosuke (dates unknown), wrote an article on the ceramic market in North China and the current situation of Japanese export ceramics. Inoue wrote:

No matter the kind or shape, Japanese ceramic wares will gradually expand the market in China. The easiest items to be used [by Chinese people] are wares for daily use.³⁸⁷

³⁸⁶ 「當港ニテ本邦磁器ノ仕入ヲ為ス間屋ハ日本商店ノ外支那商寶祥順、萬聚魁、恒豈盛等數軒アリシカ往年ノ損失後多クハ輸入ヲ見合せ目下萬聚魁ノミ之ニ從事セリ萬聚魁ハ神戸長崎等ニ代理店ヲ有シ且ツ天津ニハ本店ノ外分店ヲモ設ケテ肥前、尾張製及江西製磁器並ニ雜貨ヲ販售スルカ就中磁器ハ内地需要先ノ嗜好ヲ察シ時々見本ヲ本邦ニ送リテ製出セシムル」 (Arakawa 1892, 68).

³⁸⁷ 「日本の陶磁器が何品を問はず支那に於て追々販路を拡張し得らるゝならんも其尤も容易に使用せらるゝものは先づ日用品なるべし」 (Inoue 1905, 174).

As the statistics show, ordinary ceramic wares were the first prioritised items they exported to China. He then introduces the favoured size and design of those wares. He continues about imported Japanese wares of ordinary quality:

Reporting on the imported Japanese products, there are plates of four *sun* [about 12.0 cm], rice bowls and *sake* cups from Gifu kiln, teapots from Banko kiln, bucket shaped lidded vessels from Awaji kiln, vases from Awata kiln and so on. Wares specially designed for the Chinese market are seen among the Gifu wares, but all the other products were originally made for the Japanese market. The Gifu wares for the Chinese market are the lowest quality.³⁸⁸

According to this commentary on all types of ceramics, only Gifu kiln produced wares especially for the Chinese market. Other wares were the same wares sold in Japan, but designs were carefully chosen to fit Chinese taste.

Kitamura Yaichirō also commented on Japanese ceramic ware imported to China. According to him, more than half was porcelain ware from Mino. Porcelain ware from Mino and Seto amounted to 80 % of the ceramic ware imported to China. Porcelain from Iyo and Hizen took next place. Then, stoneware from Awaji kiln and Banko kiln followed. Ceramic wares from other areas such as Kyoto, Satsuma and Kutani were imported, but not in significant amounts.³⁸⁹ There is a group of porcelain called 'Iyo Bowl' made in Iyo from the mid Meiji era to the Taishō era (fig. 3-9). These are most likely the kind of wares exported to Asian countries, Arakawa and Kitamura described.³⁹⁰

B: European-style ware

The second type was European style ware. The Inoue report of 1905 mentions that

³⁸⁸ 「輸入せられたる日本品に付て見るに岐阜焼径四寸位の皿及飯碗酒盃、萬古焼の急須、淡路焼桶型蓋物、粟田焼花瓶等なり然して其内岐阜焼は特に支那向きに作られたる意匠を見れども他は日本向其儘なり 支那向きに作られたる岐阜焼は最も僞製品にして...」 (Inoue 1905, 175-176).

³⁸⁹ Kitamura 1929, 368.

³⁹⁰ Ōuchi 1973, 281.

Chinese people use imported European wares for drinking coffee.³⁹¹ Along with Japanese ware, China imported certain types of European ware. This was the area where European and Japanese ceramics competed. An article in *Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai zasshi* reported on Japanese export ceramics to China and Korea in 1908.

Vases, water pots, incense burners with real gold decoration are the main export items. Recently, the two countries have had access to the dawn of Western culture. European style wares were demanded by upper class society. Especially, coffee cups and the other ceramic ware for the European market are now imported to the two countries.³⁹²

Along with Japanese-style ware, China and Korea started to buy Western style Japanese porcelain ware by 1900. This was due to the change in lifestyle of upper class society in both countries.³⁹³ There was a demand for European style Japanese ware in China. It was the time when European culinary habits were introduced. Japanese European style dishes were reasonable compared to real European wares because the transportation cost was much less. In addition to the advantage in exchanging a fair trade agreement, China was always one of the most attractive markets for Japanese ceramic exporters.

C: Chinese-style ware

The last type of Japanese export ware for China was fine versions of Chinese porcelain. When Inoue mentioned popular vase designs in China, he pointed out the tastes of the different social strata.

The preference for vases is almost the same as in Japan. In the house of an

³⁹¹ Inoue 1905, 175.

³⁹² 「本金物の花瓶、水差、香爐の類最も多く輸出せられ、近時両國は日本を介して歐米文化の曙光に接せしかば、洋風の器具は上流社會の需要する所となり、為に珈琲茶碗、其の他歐洲向の陶磁器は移て此の兩國に入る」(Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1908, 385).

³⁹³ Korea started to appear in the records of the gross sales of Japanese ceramics in 1887. The sales gradually increased and Korea became the second biggest importer of Japanese ceramics in 1907 (Hata 1907, 46).

upper class antique lover, a refined and tasteful vase is displayed. A newly risen gentleman displays a splendid and exquisite vase. In the reception rooms of merchant houses, restaurants or brothels, crude and gaudy vases are displayed. These differences clearly indicate the society..., I often hear that it is believed in the Chinese upper class society that European ware is gaudy and Japanese ware is refined. At the same time, splendid, elegant and exquisite Japanese products all resemble Chinese products. Crude, cheap Japanese products with gaudy gold decoration also fit the taste of lower class society...³⁹⁴

This comment reveals a number of important facts. First, it shows that there was demand for Japanese ceramic wares from different social strata, which included upper class society.

Second, it shows that Japanese and Chinese taste were similar according to social strata.

Third, Chinese upper class society considered Japanese ware better than European ware. It appears that fine Japanese ceramic ware was favoured in China compared to other countries.

Fine Japanese ware was already attuned to Chinese ideals and did not need different designs when exported to China. Therefore, the same ceramic wares were often sold in China and Japan.

Sino-Japanese Relationships and the Ceramic Industry

Chinese official, Ling Wenyan commented on Japanese porcelain after visiting NIE V in Osaka in 1903. He wrote:

There are two pieces of blue-and-white porcelain, which are Japanese copies of Kangxi ware, but the quality can be compared with the real ones. These pieces are sold to the West. They have earned a large profit. Our nation's industrial art sees that the refined beauty of these copied products from Japan has exceeded our products. Previously, the Governor General of Jiangxi province, Mr. Ke reported that Japanese merchants buy porcelain

³⁹⁴ 「花瓶に付ての嗜好は日本と殆んど其の趣を同ふす上流社会の愛骨董家には雅致なるものが排置せられ新出来紳士には精緻にして華美なるものが飾を付けられ商家の應接室料理屋妓楼等には粗製にして燦爛たるものが据えられて自然に其社會を表白して居る（中略）支那人の上流社會には歐洲品は俗にして日本品は雅致なりと云ふとは常聞く所なり然して日本品華美なるもの優美なる者精緻なるもの皆支那品と相近似しぬ日本の粗製廉価にして金色燦爛たるもの亦下流の需要に適す」（Inoue 1905, 175-176).

clay at Jingdezhen. After they went back [to Japan], they applied overglaze decoration on them. These kinds of product brought those [Japanese] a huge profit and thus prevented the enlargement of the market of Chinese porcelain. In the past, Japanese people widely collected Chinese antique porcelain. In the beginning, they enjoyed them. Today, they know the good specimens and their porcelain ware is improving day by day. How can we improve our nation's porcelain ware and regain profit and reputation?³⁹⁵

Ling pointed out the high quality of the Japanese porcelain ware he saw at the exposition in Osaka. A high-ranking official of China freely admitted the superiority of Japanese porcelain products, and considered Japanese ceramic exports as a successful example and wondered how they could catch up with Japan.

In order to improve the ceramic industry, the Chinese government introduced a number of experiments around the same period. In 1894, the Chinese Embassy requested to have Japanese ceramic specialists sent to Jingdezhen to help the foundation of a modern ceramic company.

Chinese ceramic industry... today the quality [of their products] cannot be compared with products of our country [Japan]. Aspects of design and elegance are also inferior to the products of our country. Jingdezhen in Jiangxi province of the country is planning to establish a large ceramic company and to improve the production process. A while ago, a Chinese consul from Yokohama made an inquiry about their employment of potters from Seto.... The request was sent to Seto in Bishū and the arrangement has been made.³⁹⁶

The details of this matter are uncertain, but the comment raises the important issue of how Japanese potters were involved with the Chinese modernisation of the ceramic industry of

³⁹⁵ 「又有青花白質二種仿康窯可奪真售出西洋獲重價夫我國工藝惟磁器甲地球今見日本仿製之品精美過我又前閱江西柯中丞奏議謂日商購景德磁胎埴製彩神博西洋大利而阻中磁銷路云云又往年日本廣收中國古磁初以為供玩好今及知作標本其磁器發達日臻進步我國磁器宜如何改良以挽利權乎」 (Ling 1906, 14). Ling was born in Taizhou and was a member of the commission from Jiangzhou and Chuzhou which came to Osaka for NIE V.

³⁹⁶ 「中國陶業（中略）今日にては其品質の遠く本邦品に及ばざるのみならず意匠の點と云ひ優美の點と申し何れも本邦品に譲る所あるより同國江西省の景德鎮に於て今度一大陶磁器製造會社を設立し且つ其製造法を改良せんとて過般橫濱駐在の清國領事を介して瀬戸の陶業者を雇聘致したき旨申來りし（中略）此儀尾州瀬戸町の營業者へ申送りたれば遠からずして招聘の約整ふべしと云う」 (Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai 1894, 192-193).

the early twentieth century. Furthermore, a governmental report on their research trip to Jingdezhen in 1914 states that the first coal kiln in Jingdezhen was built by a Chinese specialist who had studied the modern industrial ceramic production process in Japan.³⁹⁷

In Ling's report, he considered Japanese porcelain a copy of Chinese antiques and did not see the Japanese version as a problem. These fine Chinese-style porcelains were important export ceramics for Japanese ceramic manufacturers. As introduced in Chapter One, Eliza Scidmore mentioned Seifū Yohei III's export wares for the Chinese market.³⁹⁸ Seifū Yohei III explained that Kyoto produced many Chinese-style porcelain wares in the early Meiji period and those were sometimes sold as Chinese.³⁹⁹

Suwa Sozan I claimed that he produced many Chinese-style porcelains without seal or signature (fig. 3-10). He was designated as a *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1922. When interviewed by the journalist Kuroda Tengei (dates unknown) in 1920, he explained the market for his celadon works.

I hitherto sold celadon ware to China and Korea, but seldom in Japan. These pieces come back to Japan priced at hundreds and thousands of yen. Hara Tomitarō⁴⁰⁰ in Yokohama has several of my works [re-imported from China and Korea]. Besides, a millionaire once offered to show me a good celadon piece from Vietnam. I went, but it was also one of mine. However, I have never lied to sell my works as Chinese. Chinese and Korean merchants increase the value of my works. A man told me to put higher prices on my works [to prevent it]. I say it is not necessary because I sell my works after I had time to enjoy.⁴⁰¹

³⁹⁷ Nōshōmushō Shōkōkyoku 1914, 2-3.

³⁹⁸ Scidmore 1898, 86.

³⁹⁹ 「維新の前後などは、當地（京都）でも重に唐物の模造を致しましたので、夫は茶方より骨董の方が、よけいに甚うういました。假令ば青磁でも、白磁でも、此方に立派なのが出来て無銘でういますと、直に唐物として賣りますので。そうする方が價がよいものでういますから」 (Kuroda 1899, 27).

⁴⁰⁰ Hara Tomitarō (1868-1939) was a silk merchant in Yokohama and *chanoyu* enthusiast. He was born in Gifu and studied Politics and Economics at Tokyo Senmon Gakkō (predecessor of Waseda University). He was then adopted to the Hara family of Yokohama and became a successful entrepreneur. Hara developed an extensive Asian art collection and became a patron of painters such as Kobayashi Kokei (1883-1957) and Maeda Seison (1885-1977).

⁴⁰¹ 「私は従来青磁は、支那朝鮮で賣つて、内地では殆んどさばきませんでしたが、それが日本へ入つて、何千圓、何百圓といふ高價になつてゐる。横濱の原富太郎氏などは、此私の製したのを、いくらか持つて居られます。また或る富豪が、安南から来たよい青磁を手に入れたから、参考の爲め見せてやらうといふことで、見せて貰ひましたが、之も私の製作でした。

These fine Chinese-style porcelain wares were made for the Japanese and Chinese market, and some were seen in the mainland market as Chinese originals. These ceramics would not be included in the statistical record introduced above, but were surely made in Kyoto and exported. Works by Seifū Yohei III and other Kyoto potters would have been included.

The Japanese export ceramics for China were rather different from the export ceramics for the Western market. As discussed in an earlier chapter, a large part of ceramics for the West was specially adopted to Western taste. Sometimes, Japanese potters were forced to produce even when it contradicted their aesthetics. On the other hand, it was an advantage that Japanese potters did not need to produce wares specially designed for the Chinese market. The culinary habits and favoured designs of the Chinese people were quite similar to those of the Japanese. The situation applied to both fine and ordinary wares.

Kobe: The International Trading Port for Kyoto and Osaka

In terms of international trade between Japan and China, Yokohama was not the main base. It was Kobe, opened in 1868. Still to this day, the famous Chinatown in Kobe indicates the city's historical tie with China. The history of Kobe began in the first year of the Meiji era. The port was built as one of the five ports opened for international trade in response to the conclusion of the Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858 (Ansei 5). Kobe developed throughout the Meiji era, and became the largest port for importing foreign goods in the mid Meiji era and second largest port for exporting goods after Yokohama. China was one of the most important destinations. In terms of Japanese export ceramic, Kobe exported more ceramic ware than any other port in Japan.

然し私は決して唐物だといふて、ウソつては賣らん、たゞ夫が支那朝鮮や、内地商人の手に渡つて高くなるので。それで或人は、もつと價を高く賣るがよいと云ひますが、私は自分で楽しんだ滓だから、高く賣らんでもよいと云ふて居るのです。」 (Kuroda 1920, 135).

Before the conclusion of the treaty, American Consul General Townsend Harris (1804-78)⁴⁰² originally demanded the opening of the city of Osaka for international trade and the opening of Sakai port, which was the largest and closest port to Osaka. He also demanded the opening of Hyōgo for maintenance of ships. The Tokugawa government finally agreed to the opening of the city of Osaka for international trade, but did not open Sakai due to its closeness to the old capital, Nara. At the time, as mentioned in the earlier chapter, foreigners were allowed to travel outside a concession within 40 km. If they built a concession in Sakai, then a large part of Nara, where the Emperor had close connections, must be included.⁴⁰³ Finally, Hyōgo was the port agreed to be opened for foreign ships even though the port did not have any space to build a concession. Instead, Kobe, a farming village located east of Hyōgo, was chosen to be the international trading port. The coast of Kobe was undeveloped and deep water to the coastline was suitable for mooring.⁴⁰⁴

After the conclusion of the treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858 (Ansei 5), ports were built in Yokohama, Hakodate, Nagasaki and Niigata and they opened immediately. However, the opening of Kobe was delayed until 1868 (Keiō 3) for the protection of the capital, Kyoto.⁴⁰⁵ Sir Rutherford Alcock (1809-1897), who was an army surgeon and the first British diplomatic representative to Japan between 1859 and 1864, noted:

January 1863 was the period fixed [to open Kobe], but the Japanese Government had long manifested the most urgent desire to have the period deferred.⁴⁰⁶

⁴⁰² Townsend Harris was the first United States Consul General to Japan. He was born in Washington County, New York, and became a successful merchant of Chinese trade. Harris opened the first United States Consulate at the Gyokusen-ji temple in Shimoda in 1856 and concluded Treaty of Amity and Commerce in 1858.

⁴⁰³ Kobe Bōeki Kyōkai 1968, 7-8.

⁴⁰⁴ Kobe-shi Kōwan Sōkyoku 1961, 3.

⁴⁰⁵ Kobe Zeikan 1931, 2-3.

⁴⁰⁶ Alcock 1863, 103. Alcock was born in a suburb of London, the son of a physician. He became a surgeon in the Navy. Alcock was sent to South China in 1844 and soon became a consul at Shanghai. He was then appointed as the Consul General to Japan and moved to Tokyo in 1859. In 1865, he was transferred to Beijing and was a representative of the British government there until 1871. Alcock published two books on Japan: *the Capital of the Tycoon* in 1863 and *Art and Art Industries in Japan* in 1878.

When Kobe was officially opened to Westerners in 1868, China had not concluded a trading agreement with Japan. Three years later, China became the seventeenth nation to conclude a trading agreement and Japanese trading ports were officially opened to Chinese merchants.

However, many Chinese had long formed a community in Nagasaki, as they were one of two nations, along with the Dutch, allowed to live in Nagasaki during the Edo period. Some Chinese people, in fact, started to come into Kobe immediately after the opening of the port. *The Illustrated London News* reported (28 March 1868):

The opening, on the first day of this year, of the port of Hiogo [Hyōgo] and city of Osaca [Osaka], in Japan, to the commerce of all civilised nations. ... The British, French, American, and other foreign merchants, who have been restricted, hitherto, for the most part, to Yokohama, a suburb of Jeddo [Edo], and to Nagasaki, where the old Dutch settlement was formed, will now be allowed to reside at Osaca; and a convenient site has been granted to them for the erection of wharves and warehouses in the port of Hiogo (3-12).⁴⁰⁷

Then, Westerners were allowed to bring non-western servants into Japan. For example, Townsend Harris brought five Chinese servants when he arrived in Shimoda. There were a chief steward, cook, assistant cook, seamstress and laundryman, all hired in Hong Kong.⁴⁰⁸ The first Chinese person to arrive in Kobe was probably one of those servants brought by a Westerner. Most Westerners came to Japan with Chinese servants. They were employed at the ports along the southern Chinese coast. Many Chinese were hired as translators because they could communicate with Japanese people with Chinese characters.

Technically speaking, these servants were the only Chinese people allowed to come into Kobe, but some Chinese merchants illegally came into Kobe soon after the opening of the port.⁴⁰⁹ It was recorded that the first Chinese merchants who arrived in Kobe were about a dozen individuals from Nagasaki in 1868.⁴¹⁰ The number of Chinese nationals increased and there were already 190 Chinese people registered in 1870. After the conclusion of the

⁴⁰⁷ Bennett 2006, 187.

⁴⁰⁸ Harris 1959, 173.

⁴⁰⁹ Suwaki 1988, 4.

⁴¹⁰ Murata 1898a, 480.

trading agreement between Japan and China in 1871, more Chinese merchants arrived and expanded their trading business. E. G. Holtham, who arrived in Kobe in 1873, six years after the opening of the port as a railway engineer, briefly commented on Chinese settlers in Kobe.

Except that Yokohama is about five times the size of Kobe, there appears to be no great contrast between them in essentials. Each has its business quarter, its villas on the hill, its native town and harbour. ... Kobe, though it has not the advantage of propinquity to the metropolis, is nevertheless entitled to rejoice in the neighbourhood of Osaka and Kyoto, together at least equal in interest to Tokyo. ... In both the simple children of nature - to wit, sailors ashore, policemen craftily concealed behind sticks and spectacles, and Chinamen patiently abiding the day when they may have amassed enough dollars for their ease at home - form a large proportion of the visible inhabitants....⁴¹¹

Appendix 3-6 shows the population of foreign residents in Kobe divided into Chinese and Westerners. The Chinese nationals formed the largest community in Kobe by 1878, and more than half of the foreigners in Kobe were Chinese. In 1890, the Chinese population in Kobe reached 1,433, whereas the total population of Westerners was only 606.⁴¹² The Chinese population in Kobe slightly dropped during the First Sino-Japanese War, but increased otherwise. The prosperity of the Chinese community in Kobe was due to the change in the international trading environment. The first ten years or so after the opening of Kobe, it was still under development and most international trade was through Yokohama. However, the trade was not necessarily through Yokohama as Kobe became fully equipped.⁴¹³ Traders and manufacturers in the Kansai area could save significant transportation costs. Eventually, Kobe became another leading trading port of Japan in the 1880s.

The prosperity of Kobe can be observed in a number of historical records. In 1898, the Chinese intellectual Zhu Shou (dates unknown)⁴¹⁴ travelled in Japan and published his

⁴¹¹ Cortazzi 1987, 164.

⁴¹² Nishijima 1993, 16-18.

⁴¹³ Isaac 2003.

⁴¹⁴ Zhu Shou was from Jiangxi Province.

diary. He was one of a group of Chinese officials from Jiangxi province. The purpose of the trip was to research the educational system of Japan as they were planning to establish a Western style school.⁴¹⁵ When he was in Tokyo, he questioned an official of the Japanese consulate about Chinese merchants in Japan. He noted that Chinese merchants were largely separated into three areas. There were 3,000 Chinese merchants in Yokohama, 5,000 in Kobe and Osaka, and 2,000 in Nagasaki.⁴¹⁶ As the number show, there were more Chinese merchants in Kobe than any other port at the end of the nineteenth century. Zhu arrived in Kobe on 18 August 1898 and described the city:

Buildings are neatly placed. Roofs are even and flat. Roads are clean. The size is similar to Nagasaki, but more flourished.⁴¹⁷

The Chinese diplomat and scholar Li Baoquan (dates unknown) visited Kobe in 1906 and described the port:

The international trade of Kobe began in Meiji 5 (1872). The profit increased day by day. After Meiji 34 (1901), gross sales reached about thirty-one times those of thirty years ago. ... When trading had not flourished yet, foreign goods first arrived in Yokohama and came to Kobe through Yokohama. For the first fourteen or fifteen years, foreign trading firms established branch offices in Kobe. The number of ships stopping at the port increased and direct trading began. The Ministry of Transport encouraged international trade. It appears that business in Yokohama has slowly been declining and business in Kobe and Osaka flourishes today. Recently, Chinese merchants in Kobe and Osaka think international trade will improve if the government supports it and encourages it.⁴¹⁸

According to this comment, Kobe was the largest base of Chinese merchants at the

⁴¹⁵ Zhu 1898, 1.

⁴¹⁶ 「我...問在東貿商之華人共有若干答華商約分三幫曰閩曰粵曰三江現寓橫濱有三千餘人神戸大坂有五千餘人長崎有二千餘人」(Zhu 1898, 9-10).

⁴¹⁷ 「大抵塵里端直瓮宇齊平道路淨潔規劃略如長崎而繁盛遠過之至」(Zhu 1898, 8).

⁴¹⁸ 「神戸之外國貿易。自明治五年後。日見增益。自三十四年。比較三十年以前。總額約增三十一倍。...十五年至三十四年。竟增至每年平均額一億三千九百四十六萬。比十年前又多五倍半。當貿易未盛時。外國貨物。先輸入橫濱。復折回神戸。十四五年間。外國商館。加設支店於神戸。船舶之寄港者亦多。故直輸本港。轉運省而貿易益進。竊謂橫濱之商業當漸衰。而神阪當日盛。華商於神阪最近。倘國家有以補助而鼓勵之。其進步實有艾也。」(Li 1906, 58).

beginning of the twentieth century.

For Japanese export ceramics to China circa 1900, the largest port was Kobe. In 1867 (Keiō 3), an official notice about the opening of a port in Hyōgo (Kobe) was issued. The last part of the notice was inherited for the public.

From the seventh day of the twelfth month, Keiō 3 (1867), Hyōgo opens the port. For trade, foreigners will probably come and stay as they trade in Edo and Osaka. Many products from various regions can be exported and traded.⁴¹⁹

Ceramics were among the Japanese products exported through Kobe soon after the opening of the port (appendix 3-7). Ceramic exports at Kobe were begun by Ozaki of Kin'undō in Kyoto in 1871 and Kinkōzan Sōbei VI in 1872 as mentioned above. However, in 1873, porcelain from Owari arrived and became the most popular item. In addition, many teapots from Shigaraki sold well.⁴²⁰ The Kyoto ceramic industry found the Chinese export market had a great potential in the 1880s as outlined in Utsumi's proposal above. Gross sales of ceramic exports through the port of Kobe expanded from 123 yen in 1869 to 2,649,298 yen in 1912.⁴²¹ It also reported that many ceramic wares were from Kyoto.⁴²²

Appendix 3-8 shows the ratio of gross sales of ceramic wares at each trading port. The official record begins in 1882 when more than 60 % of ceramic wares were exported from Yokohama. Arakawa Mitsugu's report quoted earlier explains that Japanese ceramic exports for China began around 1883. The date matches the time when gross sales of ceramic exports in Kobe started to increase. It appears that the development of the Chinese market was one of the main reasons Kobe became the leading base for export ceramics. In 1891, Kobe overtook Yokohama, and continued to be the leading trading port for ceramic products during the Taishō era. Appendix 3-9 shows gross sales of Japanese export ware to China and

⁴¹⁹ 「一般人民へ 来る十二月七日より兵庫開港江戸並大阪市中へも交易の為め外人居留致候 筈に付諸國の物産手廣に運出商賣可為勝手者也」 (Murata 1898a, preface).

⁴²⁰ Murata, 1898a, 480-481.

⁴²¹ Please refer to Appendices 3-6 and 3-7.

⁴²² Hyōgo-ken Kangyōka 1879, 28-29.

Hong Kong in 1900 by trading port. It shows 73 % of Japanese ceramic ware exported to China and 87 % to Hong Kong came from Kobe.

The ceramic trade was operated through Japanese and Chinese dealers. A 1908 article in *Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai zasshi* on Japanese export ceramics to China and Korea reported.

[Japanese] merchants who operate export ceramic business to Qing and Korea are rare. Orders come from trading companies such as Manpuku Yōkō in Yokohama, Shinshōren in Kobe and others and many pieces are produced.⁴²³

According to *Kobe-kō naigai shōka binran* (Guide of Japanese and foreign merchants in Kobe Port), there were seventeen Japanese ceramic traders in Kobe in 1893 (fig. 3-12). It also listed thirty-four Chinese merchants based in Kobe.

Conclusion

This chapter has looked at Japanese export ceramics for the Chinese market. Examination of statistical and historical records has revealed that the commercial relationship between Japan and China during the Meiji and Taishō eras was more active than previously thought. Chinese merchants arrived in Yokohama soon after the opening of the port in 1858. The opening of Kobe port in 1868 stimulated more Chinese to immigrate into Kobe and started Sino-Japanese trade with objects coming from and through Osaka and Kyoto.

Japanese ceramic ware was a popular export to China because Chinese porcelain kilns, Jingdezhen in particular, could not produce enough porcelain wares for domestic demand. Moreover, the wares produced for the Japanese domestic market could also be sent

⁴²³ 「清韓地方に於ては直接取引するもの稀にして横濱の萬福洋行を始めとし、神戸の清商連により続々注文を受けて製作し」 (Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai 1908, 385).

to China because the two nations' culinary habits required similar types of wares. These included both high and low quality and the high quality wares probably included works by leading potters such as Seifū Yohei III and Suwa Sozan I. It is an important fact that Seifū Yohei III established his status in the ceramic field as one of the best Chinese-style potters selling works to the Chinese market.

The size of Japanese export ceramics to the Chinese market expanded and Kobe became not only the largest trading base to China but also to the rest of the world in the late nineteenth century. On the other hand, Yokohama declined because of the geographical disadvantage and became a port concentrating on trade with the North American market in terms of ceramics by 1900. As discussed in the previous chapter, the issue of regional conflict can be seen here. Yokohama was important for potters in Tokyo, but Kobe was even more important because the port was closer to leading ceramic centres such as Kyoto, Gifu, Ishikawa and Aichi.

Chapter Four

Production of Qing-style Porcelain in Meiji Japan

Chapter One examined the role of Seifū Yohei III within the traditional structure of the Kyoto ceramic industry. He was required to establish his own style in order to survive in this competitive field. Qing official porcelain was closely related to the style he chose. Captain Brinkley pointed out the similarity when he discussed works by Seifū Yohei III in 1904.

Seifū of Kyōtō probably enjoys the highest reputation. He manufactures monochromatic and jewelled porcelain and faience, which differ essentially from the traditional Kyōtō types, their models being taken direct from China. ... The Kyōtō [sic] artist's process is much easier than that of his rivals, and although his monochromes are often of most pleasing delicacy and fine tone, they do not belong by any means to the same category of technical excellence as the wares they imitate. From this judgment must be excepted, however, his ivory-white and celadon wares, as well as his porcelains decorated with blue, or blue and red *sous couverte*, and with vitrifiable enamels over the glaze. In these five varieties he is emphatically great.⁴²⁴

This point calls into question a theory in the history of Modern Japanese ceramics. Japan owns a sizeable collection of Chinese ceramics from prehistory to the early twentieth century, but the quantity of Qing porcelain is much smaller than works of other dynastic periods. Satō Masahiko, a Japanese ceramic historian, presented his view in 1983 about this issue:

I have to say that recognition of Qing ceramics in our country [Japan] is extremely low. It is a contrasting situation that these are highly popular in Europe and North America. ... It is right to say that the characteristics of Qing porcelain, which cold-heartedly pursue perfection, could not fit into Japanese innate taste that prefers suggestiveness.⁴²⁵

This absence of Qing porcelain in Japanese collections has been seen as a national distaste of

⁴²⁴ Brinkley 1904, 417.

⁴²⁵ 「清朝陶磁についてのわが国での認識は、一般的にいつてはなはだ低いといわざるを得ない。それは欧米におけるその認識がかなり高いのと、すこぶる対照的な関係にある。(中略) 冷徹なまでに完璧を期する清朝陶磁の作風は、余韻を好む日本人の体質にそぐわなかったといつていい。」 (Satō 1983, 132).

the style. However, Seifū Yohei III's serious studies and efforts in recreating Qing-style porcelain call into question the validity of the idea that smaller quantity equals unpopularity. The question firstly makes us wonder if it was unpopular from the beginning. If not, we need to examine the way the significance of Qing-style changed and how the national identity of the objects affected it. Moreover, this issue would provide us a clue as to what Qing dynasty meant for Japanese during the Meiji era.

For this purpose, this chapter is divided into four parts. It begins with an examination of the practice of recreating foreign ceramics in Kyoto. Second; Qing aspects within works by Seifū Yohei III will be closely analysed. Third; the relationship between making copies of Qing porcelain and activities of Japanese literati circles, in which Seifū Yohei III was deeply involved, will be explored. Fourth; it examines the decline of the arts of Qing China in Japan after the 1890s. It also looks at the outflow of Chinese porcelain to the West.

Reproducing Foreign Ceramic Wares in Kyoto

Hayashiya has described Kyoto potters as having a business-model based on recreating famous kilns of Japan and China.⁴²⁶ Kyoto played an important role in this 'copying practice.' Originality and authorship of style or design in Early-Modern to Modern Japan have recently been discussed.⁴²⁷ In terms of ceramics, it was closely related to access to knowledge required for reproduction. Without any established regulation of patents, copying was largely accepted in the business environment. As long as a potter could technically reproduce it, he or she was allowed to use any shape or decorative feature. The only way to protect a style was to keep the production process secret. If you could make a certain thing, you could maintain the right to produce it exclusively. Therefore, foreign

⁴²⁶ Hayashiya 1975, 195.

⁴²⁷ Cox 2008.

objects often became an object for copying as nobody had the right to complain.

Theoretically, it was possible for Kyoto potters to produce copies of famous kilns in the past, Chinese kilns in particular, as they were most profitable. However, we have to wait until around 1800 when they actively produced fine wares comparable to Chinese counterparts. Okuda Eisen (1753-1811), a wealthy entrepreneur, and his students, played an important role in this practice. They established not only porcelain production on a recognisable scale, but also a culture of recreating non-Japanese wares.

These potters, however, could not just choose whatever ceramics they wanted to reproduce. They had to make enough profit to continue their operation by undercutting the price of the Chinese originals. The lack of natural resources for ceramic production, especially porcelain clay, seemingly affected greatly the price of Kyoto ceramics. Under this circumstance, their main objects for 'copying' were foreign ceramics such as Chinese and Korean wares, of which were not largely available in Japan but were favoured. In 1794 (Kansei 6), Ueda Akinari, a poet and writer of the late eighteenth century, said that:

If [you] acquired teapot which came from China long time ago, [you] should have it copied by a famous Kyoto potter in case of accident.⁴²⁸

This comment shows that making close versions of Chinese ceramics was a common practice.

This phenomenon is closely related to the era and the popularity of various cultural practices often associated with Japanese literati culture. The Kansei to Bunsei era (1789-1829) was a moment when the culture of townsmen flourished. Japanese literati artists and scholars were enthusiastic about the four accomplishments: music, *go* (a board game), calligraphy and painting. In addition, *sencha*, *kanshi* (Chinese poems) and collecting unusual objects were important parts of their communal activities. Kimura Kenkadō (1736-1802)⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ Hayashiya 1972, 193.

⁴²⁹ Kimura Kenkadō was a natural historian, botanist, collector of various objects in Osaka. He was

in Osaka is a good example.⁴³⁰ Ceramic wares were used not only for room decoration, but also as vessels for tea and liquor, crucial aspects in these activities.

‘Copying’ rare foreign objects was suited to potters in Kyoto for various reasons. They were often well educated in these cultural accomplishments, and so enabled to respond to customers’ high expectations. They had skills required for possibly a complicated process. Their small-size household operation had the flexibility to accept orders to produce a variety of wares. In addition, Kyoto had geographical advantages. Manpuku-ji temple where Chinese monks resided was in Uji, south of Kyoto. Through these Chinese monks, the latest aspects of Chinese culture were introduced to the area.⁴³¹ Furthermore, its closeness to Osaka, the centre of the nation’s economy where all sorts of goods were available, provided easier access to the latest foreign objects.⁴³² Finally, the absence of other ceramic centres of high-quality in the area gave Kyoto potters a monopoly on this ‘copying’ business.

Okuda Eisen is known for his Chinese-style porcelain wares (fig.4-1). His decorative styles show a strong connection to Ming popular wares such as the ‘Swatow’ type made in the Zhangzhou kilns in Fujian Province (fig. 4-2). His students, Moku Bei (1767-1843), Kinkodō Kamesuke and Ninnami Dōhachi followed his master. Moku Bei, a potter and a literati-style painter, produced wares in a variety of styles such as porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and earthenware with overglaze polychrome enamels. He mainly created wares for *sencha*, which will be discussed separately in Chapter Five. In addition, he was a serious scholar of ceramic history. He translated Zhu Yen’s *Tao shuo* (Discussions of Ceramics) which he had carefully copied from a copy in the collection of Kimura

born in a family of sake merchant in Osaka and studied Obaku Zen Buddhism, herbal medicine, literature. He could speak Dutch and understood some Latin. He developed an extensive collection of various objects including painting, books, maps, natural historical specimens and various artefacts and published widely in such subjects. Kenkadō was in the centre of intellectual circle of Osaka and his diary, *Kenkadō nikki* (Diary of Kimura Kenkadō) records that there were about 90,000 visitors came to his house in total.

⁴³⁰ See Osaka rekishi hakubutsukan 2003 for details about activities of Kimura Kenkadō.

⁴³¹ Sasaki 1964, 34-40.

⁴³² Graham 1998, 42-45.

Kenkadō.⁴³³ Kinkodō Kamesuke was a potter at Fushimi-yaki kiln in the Fushimi district situated between the inner city of Kyoto and the Uji district. The kiln was known for low-fired clay figures, a popular souvenir for visitors to Fushimi Inari Shrine (fig. 4-3).⁴³⁴ Kamesuke then apprenticed himself to Okuda Eisen. During the Kyōwa era (1801-04), he was invited to introduce a porcelain kiln in Sanda and to supervise the Ōjiyama kiln in Tanba. He was known for his skill in modelling and moulding techniques in both stoneware and porcelain (fig. 4-5). In 1830 (Bunsei 13), he wrote *Tōki shinan* (Textbook of Ceramics). The book was published in Edo, Nagoya, Osaka and Kyoto and was one of a very few practical textbooks for ceramic production at the time.⁴³⁵ Ninnami Dōhachi, the master of Seifū Yohei I, created works in a wide range of styles and techniques. Ninnami produced both blue-and-white and overglaze enamelled porcelain in Ming style (fig. 1-20, 4-6), which Seifū Yohei I certainly followed (fig. 4-7). He also produced Japanese and Korean style wares such as *raku* ware and Kenzan style ware as well as the *gohon* style or the *mishima* style Korean tea bowls with inlay decoration (fig. 1-4, 4-8, 4-9).

Their interests were not limited to those East Asian ceramics, but also European. Ogata Kenzan (1663-1742)⁴³⁶ already started studying it a generation earlier as seen from a copy of Dutch delft in the Idemitsu Museum of Art (fig. 4-10).⁴³⁷ Ogata Shūhei I (1788-1830)⁴³⁸, a younger brother of Ninnami Dōhachi, followed this practice. He reproduced European wares probably Dutch Delft or a British copy of a Dutch original (fig.

⁴³³ Mokubei's translation took many years to publish and was posthumously published in 1835 by his son. Rai San'yō's preface is dated to 1827 and Mokubei's original colophon was dated 1804 (Graham 1998, 127).

⁴³⁴ Figurines of Fushimi-yaki is one of the favourite motifs of paintings by Itō Jakuchū (fig. 4-4).

⁴³⁵ Kaneda 1984.

⁴³⁶ Ogata Kenzan was a younger brother of Painter Ogata Kōrin and the founder of Kenzan style ceramics. He learned ceramics under Nonomura Ninsei. In 1699, he became independent and established Kenzan-yaki kiln.

⁴³⁷ Miyoshi 1978b, 76-77.

⁴³⁸ Ogata Shūhei was the third son of Takahashi Dōhachi I (1749-1804). By 1819 (Bunsei 2), he became independent and called himself as Ogata Shūhei. In 1831, he was invited by Himeji domain to supervise Tōzan-yaki kiln. He was known for his underglaze blue and overglaze enamel decorations.

4-11).⁴³⁹ A small stoneware jug in the Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg, is a rare example (fig. 4-12). The shape appears to be a copy of a Western style jug with a medallion of a female image with the word 'TABAK.' These wares prove that many foreign goods imported by Dutch merchants through Dejima, Nagasaki, were available in Kyoto from the late eighteenth century onward.⁴⁴⁰ Furthermore, these examples show how capable they were in reproducing. Some types such as Delftware were continuously made well into the Meiji era (fig. 4-13).

Qing-Style Ware

Previous studies have not emphasised Qing-style Japanese porcelain made in the Edo period. Before looking at these wares, Qing official porcelain needs a brief explanation. The Qing official kiln produced a variety of objects. Tang Yin (1682-1756), supervisor of the official kiln at Jingdezhen in China from 1728 (Yongzheng 6) to 1735 (Yongzheng 13), listed fifty-seven types of porcelain produced by the Qing official kiln during the Yongzheng era (1723-35).⁴⁴¹ While many models were taken from Song and Ming wares, new techniques were developed.

The most remarkable development of the Qing official kiln is *fencai*, which

⁴³⁹ The inscription reads 'made for a commission, on a good day in autumn, 1834, Ogata Shūhei.' A similar example is in the collection of Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan (fig. 4-11).

⁴⁴⁰ Kilns in Hizen also produced wares using foreign designs in the late eighteenth century. (Oka 2007, 145).

⁴⁴¹ 「唐英，字俊公，漢軍旗人。官內務府員外郎，直養心殿。雍正六年，命監江西景德鎮窯務，歷監粵海關、淮安關。乾隆初，調九江關，復監督窯務，先后在事十餘年。明以中官督造，后改巡道，督府佐司其事，清初因之。順治中，巡撫郎廷佐所督造，精美有名，世稱“郎窯”。其后御窯興工，每命工部或內務府司官往，專任其事。年希堯曾奉使造器甚夥，世稱“年窯”。英繼其后，任事最久，講求陶法，於泥土、釉料、坯胎、火候，具有心得，躬自指揮。又能恤工慎帑，撰陶成紀事碑，備載經費、工匠解額，臚列諸色釉，仿古采今，凡五十七種。自宋大觀，明永樂、宣德、成化、嘉靖、萬歷諸官窯，及哥窯、定窯、均窯、龍泉窯、宜興窯、西洋、東洋諸器，皆有仿制。其釉色，有白粉青、大綠、米色、玫瑰紫、海棠紅、茄花紫、梅子青、鵝肝、馬肺、天藍、霽紅、霽青、鱗魚黃、蛇皮綠、油綠、歐紅、歐藍、月白、翡翠、烏金、紫金諸種。又有澆黃、澆紫、澆綠、填白、描金、青花、水墨、五彩、錐花、拱花、抹金、抹銀諸名。」 (Guo shi guan 1986, 11572-11573).

introduced new overglaze colours, opaque white, opaque yellow and translucent pink.⁴⁴²

Using these colours independently or mixed with existing colours provided varieties of shades, to create more naturalistic effects using overglaze decoration (fig. 4-14). In addition, there were new colours of monochrome glazes: High-fired glazes such as light blue, *clair-de-lune*, *douqing*, 'peach-bloom' and 'tea-dust' glazes (fig. 4-15, 16, 17, 18, 19); low-fired glazes such as 'robin's egg' blue, lemon yellow and lime green glazes (fig. 4-20, 21, 22).⁴⁴³ These glazes have been accepted as Qing innovations even though some might have existed in earlier dynasties.⁴⁴⁴

Arakawa suggests that stylistic appropriation of Qing porcelain appeared among works in Kyoto by Nonomura Ninsei (dates unknown)⁴⁴⁵ and Ogata Kenzan, which were previously considered distinctively Japanese.⁴⁴⁶ However, it was in the late eighteenth century when copies of Qing porcelain started for sure. One of the earliest attempts to make copy of Chinese *fencai* was in Hizen.⁴⁴⁷ A group of porcelain wares made in Hizen between 1780 and 1860 shows a strong connection with *fencai* ware. A bowl of c. 1830 - 1860 with pomegranate has an arabesque pattern in 'sgraffito', a common technique used for Qing counterparts (fig. 4-23). Because of their geographical closeness to Nagasaki where Chinese

⁴⁴² White enamel contains lead arsenate; opaque yellow enamel contains lead stannate; and translucent pink enamel contains colloidal gold. (Wood 1999, 240).

⁴⁴³ Wood 1999, 246.

⁴⁴⁴ Tea-dust type glaze is found in Tang kiln sites, but it seems these were discarded as failures caused by under-fired black ware glazes (Wood 1999, 140). Some shards of low-fired mottled glaze have found in a Xuande kiln site. Qing 'robin's egg' glaze was therefore possibly a revival of a rare original from the Ming period (Wood 1999, 228).

⁴⁴⁵ Nonomura Ninsei was born in Tanba and seemingly learned ceramics in the Awataguchi district and Seto. He established a kiln in front of the gate of Ninna-ji temple. He is known for his wares with overglaze polychrome enamels.

⁴⁴⁶ Arakawa 1999, 132-134.

⁴⁴⁷ Kilns in the Arita district succeeded in firing the first porcelain in Japan in the 1610s. In 1659, the Dutch East India Company started to order porcelain from kilns in the Arita area as a replacement for Chinese porcelain due to the decline in Chinese export porcelain caused by civil unrest, which resulted in a change of dynasty. The number of Japanese wares exported to China soon expanded and the trade flourished, but the time of prosperity did not last for long. Production of Chinese export wares quickly recovered after the southern part of China was put under the control of the Qing government. Foreign trade declined in the eighteenth century after the production of Jingdezhen recovered. Kilns in Hizen then turned their attention to domestic markets around the 1750s. A large part of Hizen ware bears Ming dynastical marks such as Xuande (1426-35), Chenghua (1465-87), Jiajing (1522-66) and Wanli (1573-1620). From this evidence, we can assume that Hizen porcelain kilns were mainly inspired by imports from Ming popular kilns (Ayers 1990. Impey 1996).

objects were exported, Hizen potters would have had easier access to Chinese imports.

Qing-style wares were produced in other areas in the nineteenth century. Two kilns, Kairakuen and Nanki Otokoyama, in Kii domain are such examples. These kilns had a close connection to potters in Kyoto. In the early nineteenth century, the Tokugawa family of Kii domain⁴⁴⁸ established ceramic kilns for their private enjoyment. In 1819, the Tenth Lord Tokugawa Harutomi (1771-1853)⁴⁴⁹ established a ceramic kiln inside the Nishihama villa.⁴⁵⁰ The name of the kiln, Kairakuen kiln follows the name of a garden in the villa. A five-chamber kiln was built and Harutomi invited Kyoto potters, Ninnami Dōhachi, Eiraku Hozen (1794-1854)⁴⁵¹, Raku Tannyū (1795-1854)⁴⁵², Moku Bei, Yasuke (dates unknown) one after another, for supervision and production of tea wares for him. The kiln produced high quality wares for over three decades and closed soon after the death of Harutomi in 1853. Kairakuen kiln is known for *kōchi* ware, a Japanese name for Chinese *fahua* types of the Ming dynasty after cloisonné metalwork (fig. 4-24, 25).⁴⁵³

Along with *kōchi* ware and tea bowls for *chanoyu*, some works show a strong connection to Qing porcelain. For example, a small bottle with dragon and phoenix has the signature of Ninnami Dōhachi inside the footring (fig. 4-26). He probably made this bottle in 1827 (Bunsei 10) when he was invited to the kiln.⁴⁵⁴ This gourd-shaped porcelain bottle is decorated with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamels. The choice of

⁴⁴⁸ Tokugawa Yorinobu (1620-71), a son of Tokugawa Ieyasu, was granted the domain in 1619, and became founder of one of the three cadet houses of the Tokugawa family.

⁴⁴⁹ Tokugawa Harutomi is the tenth lord of Tokugawa family of Kii domain. The second son of the eighth lord, Tokugawa Shigetomo (1746-1829). He is known for the encouragement of education in the domain. He established schools for retainers of the domain and invited Motoori Norinaga (1730-1801), the leading scholar in Kokugaku (Japanese Classics) studies. He was patron of tea practices and produced tea wares on his own in a kiln built inside of the castle.

⁴⁵⁰ The villa was the second palace of Tokugawa Harutomi in Wakayama city, Wakayama Prefecture. It was built between 1818 and 1826. The design of the garden was inspired by Lake Xihu.

⁴⁵¹ Eiraku Hozen is the eleventh generation of the Eiraku Zengorō family in Kyoto. The family is also one of ten artisans for the Sen School of *chanoyu*, *Senke jissoku*.

⁴⁵² Raku Tannyū is the tenth head of the Raku family of ceramics in Kyoto.

⁴⁵³ Similar to the Chinese original, the surface of typical Kairakuen ware is raised at outlines of the design. These raised outlines work as a boundary between different colours. Purple and turquoise blue overglaze decoration is the most common combination.

⁴⁵⁴ Mitsuoka 1975, 104.

coloured enamels suggests that this bottle was inspired by a Qing *wucai* ware, but the use of pink enamel around the rim perhaps shows its connection to *fencai* ware.

Nanki Otokoyama kiln was established with financial support from Kii domain in 1827.⁴⁵⁵ The kiln mainly produced blue-and-white porcelain for local consumption, but some ware were made for Lord Tokugawa Harutomi. A vase with flowers and butterflies is an example of collaboration between Nanki Otokoyama kiln and Kairakuen kiln (fig. 4-27). The inscription indicates that the porcelain body was fired in Nanki Otokoyama and the overglaze enamels were applied in Kairakuen.⁴⁵⁶ Without doubt, this vase was modelled on Qing *fencai* type ware. These two vases strongly suggest that Tokugawa Harutomi owned or had an access to several Chinese originals although the details of Harutomi's collection are not known. Kyoto potters working for Kairakuen kiln must have been involved with the production.

Furthermore, Qing-style wares were even made in rural Japan. For example, Gunchū Jikkinte kiln was founded in the Gunchū district of Matsuyama domain on Shikoku Island during the Tempō era (1831-45).⁴⁵⁷ This kiln was established by Odaniya Tomokurō (*b. Kansei* era), a local wholesale merchant. Odaniya's business was foreign medicine, which he brought from Nagasaki. He also brought Chinese enamel pigments and sold them to kilns in Tobe.⁴⁵⁸ Then, he started to make his own wares in the style of Qing porcelain. Undecorated white porcelain wares were brought from Tobe kilns and overglaze enamels,

⁴⁵⁵ Sakiyama Rihei (dates unknown) found high quality porcelaineous stone and performed a test firing in front of Tokugawa Harutomi. Kinkodō Kamesuke was invited and instructed the kiln. Nanki Otokoyama kiln continued to operate even after the death of Tokugawa Harutomi, but declined with the loss of financial support from the domain after the abolition of domains in 1871. The kiln closed in 1878.

⁴⁵⁶ The inscription inside the footring reads, 'Nanki Otokoyama', and on the side of the body reads, 'Kairakuen ga sei' (painting is done at Kairakuen). (Hikonejō hakubutsukan 2001, 99).

⁴⁵⁷ Gunchū (present day Iyo-shi, Ehime prefecture) was a town facing Japan's Inland Sea.

⁴⁵⁸ Kilns in Tobe started to fire tea wares in the early eighteenth century. In 1777, porcelain production was started. They used porcelain clay originally brought from Hizen, but found material locally at the end of Edo period. In the early Meiji era, artificial cobalt was imported from Germany and they expanded their domestic market. Towards the turn of the century, the kiln introduced stencil techniques and expanded their market into the East Asia and South East Asia.

fencai type, were applied in Gunchū (fig. 4-28).⁴⁵⁹ The kiln was able to produce colours such as green, red, pink, brown, light blue, white, black and gold. *Jikkinte* literally means as ‘ten coloured ware’ and refers to monochromes such as a set of twelve dishes with different glazes and enamel coatings in the Palace Museum, Beijing (fig. 4-29). Odaniya Tomokurō probably acquired the technology and knowledge to produce these colours in Nagasaki. The activity of the kiln proves that both Qing porcelain and possibly glaze pigments too were imported from China and were even available for a merchant at a small port in Shikoku Island by the 1830s.

In addition, some shards of Chinese *fencai* wares have been excavated in sites of samurai residences in Edo. A *fencai* bowl with landscape was excavated in the nineteenth century layer of a residence site of Aizu domain in Shiodome, Tokyo (fig. 4-30). The Qianlong mark inside the footring suggests that the bowl is a later Chinese copy of the eighteenth century original. Three other shards of Chinese *fencai* ware were excavated at the site (fig. 4-31).⁴⁶⁰ In addition, shards of Chinese porcelain with overglaze pink have been found in excavation sites in Shinjuku. The sites used to be the Owari domain’s *kamiyashiki* (the main residence of a daimyo in Edo) between 1768 (Meiwa 5) and 1871.⁴⁶¹ Although these are rare findings compared to Japanese porcelain and Chinese blue-and-white porcelain, Chinese *fencai* wares were certainly available in Edo by the early nineteenth century.⁴⁶²

After the Meiji Restoration, Kyoto potters continued to produce Qing-style works. With the introduction of enamelling material from Europe, more colours became available.⁴⁶³ A pair of vases by Kanzan Denshichi in the Museum of Imperial Collection shows that porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels became a main product of the early Meiji

⁴⁵⁹ Yoshida 1995, 212

⁴⁶⁰ Shiodome-chiku Iseki Chōsakai 1996, 157, 161, 211, 286, 295.

⁴⁶¹ Shinjuku-ku Ichitani Motoyama-chō Iseki Chōsadan 1995, 73, 85. Tokyo-to 2006, 1, 293.

⁴⁶² See Inagaki 2007 and Suzuki 2007 for some other examples of *fencai* ware excavated in Japan.

⁴⁶³ The first record when European enamels imported to Japan was in 1868. Shimizu Usaburō, a merchant in Kyoto, visited Exposition Universelle, 1867, in Paris and there he bought pigments for ceramics. Shimizu provided pigments for dish painted by Hattori Kyōho (fig. 2-20) (Pollard 2002 37-38).

period. Some Kyoto potters were interested in other types of porcelain from the Qing dynasty. A pair of vases by Takahashi Dōhachi III was exhibited at Philadelphia International Exposition in 1878 (fig. 4-32). These vases imitate bamboo baskets with handles. Producing porcelain ware to look like other materials is another important branch of Qing porcelain (fig. 4-33).⁴⁶⁴ Takahashi Dōhachi would have seen examples and reproduced bamboo baskets in stoneware.

Seifū Yohei III's Admiration of Qing Porcelain

With the recovery of Jingdezhen production in the late seventeenth century, Qing porcelain became available in various areas of Japan. These wares gave Japanese potters inspiration for new directions to pursue. Kyoto potters, in the Kiyomizu-Gojō district in particular, concentrated on recreating these wares. Some managed to acquire materials from China if not recipes for unknown glazing and enamelling techniques. Despite these efforts, many techniques used for Qing porcelain were not possible to recreate during the Edo period.

It was during the 1880s, that Japanese potters started to show interest in unlocking 'secrets' of Chinese glazes. Seifū Yohei III was one of the leading potters who successfully invented many glaze recipes in the first half of the Meiji era. When he listed the techniques he invented, he said:

[When I say] invention, it is, of course, a method that did not exist before. I think I can call it a new invention if it has not existed in Japan, but in China.⁴⁶⁵

This comment explains that Chinese porcelain was certainly one of the main choices of

⁴⁶⁴ Qing porcelain often imitated stone, wood, bamboo etc. to show their skills.

⁴⁶⁵ 「勿論発明と申しまする以上は、從來ない法でゐますが、また支那にあつても、日本に曾てないものを考へ出しましたら、これまた発明といふてもよいかと思ひます。」(Kuroda 1899, 35).

techniques he hoped to develop.

When the journalist Kuroda Tengai in 1897 visited Seifū Yohei III, Seifū began the conversation explaining the history of Chinese porcelain. It is a long quote, but important for understanding his opinion about Chinese porcelain and also the amount of his knowledge about the history of Chinese porcelain.

30 November 1897: black clouds spread; I [Kuroda] rode on a rickshaw under occasional shower at a slant, moistening the pagodas of Kiyomizu, and visited *Teishitsu gigei* in Seifū Yohei [III], at his house in the Gojōzaka district. ... I presented my card, and asked if I could see him. Then, I was taken to a room upstairs.

The room had shelves on the walls and there were a vase, an incense box, a water jar, a teapot, and other various ceramic items. Celadon ware - dewy and archaic - polychrome overglaze enamelled ware - lustrous and fresh - yellow ware with elegance, white ware with pureness, all placed neatly. Moreover, it looked as if hundreds of flowers were blooming. While looking through them, Mr Seifū came in. We exchanged a greeting as we met for the first time. The discussion immediately turned to the development of Chinese ceramics.

Mr. Seifū said that 'in China, celadon ware was invented during the Song dynasty for the first time. It appears that there was no glazed ware before then. Then, the Great Ming dynasty began, and this [ceramic] industry developed during the Yongle, Xuande, Chenghua, Jiajing and other eras. During the Yongle era, *kinrande*-style ware was invented as an official ware. During the Chenghua era, underglaze cobalt blue porcelain was invented. It is very elegant and tea masters highly praise it. Later, during the Wanli period, *wucai* ware was invented, but elegance and delicacy declined. It seems ceramics too followed the trend. Then, during the Kangxi and Yongzheng eras of the Great Qing, [Chinese ceramics] probably reached their peak of the beauty and refinement. Since ancient days to the present time, it has never flourished better than in these eras. Therefore, in Europe or other foreign countries, ceramics from this period are considered the model. ... Afterwards, overglaze enamels and underglaze cobalt blue underwent various changes, but Chinese ceramics have not been great recently.⁴⁶⁶

⁴⁶⁶ 「全年十一月三十日、黒き雲の斑らにひろがりて、一時雨ハラハラと清水塔畔を掠め、斜にさと降そぐ中を腕車を駆り、帝室技藝員清風興平氏を五條坂の宅に訪ふ。(中略) 刺を通じ謁を請ひ、二階の一室に導かる。室は周囲に度棚を設け、花瓶、香盒、水指、急須、其外諸種の陶磁器、即ち青磁の淹然として古なる者、花釉の燦然として鮮なる者、黄彩の雅澹なる者、白色の清澄なる者、一々整々として陳列し、恰かも百花の亂れ開くが如し。囑目の間、氏出来る、即ち初對面の挨拶をなし、談は直ちに支那陶磁器の沿革に入る。氏曰く、支那に於ては宋の時初めて青磁が出来ましたので、其以前は釉薬を塗った陶磁器は無ったらしく考えられます。夫から大明になりまして、永楽、宣徳、成化、嘉靖など、いづれも工業が進みました。錦欄手は永楽の時出来ましたので、所謂官の御用品で。また藍の染附は成化の頃に出来ましたが、之はなかなか雅致のあるもので、茶家などは大層賞美を致します。それから

Although Seifū Yohei III's version of the history has problems compared to our present understanding, he was very knowledgeable on the subject at the time considering the limited amount of historical sources available. It would not have been possible without having studied Chinese books and ceramics with reign marks. According to his comment, he put emphasis on the importance of porcelain in the Kangxi and Yongzheng eras. These two eras reached the height of Chinese porcelain in his opinion. This suggests two points. He must have seen enough Chinese porcelain to make his own judgement. Naturally, wares of the Kangxi and Yongzheng eras became the models for his works. His signature works such as *hyakkanishiki* (polychrome glazed) ware, *taihaku-ji* (white) ware show strong connections to these models.

Jikkinte (ten coloured ware), as mentioned above in connection with the Gunchū Jikkinte kiln, is a Japanese word for Chinese ware using polychrome opaque enamels for monochrome and *fencai* type wares. Seifū Yohei III gave his coloured ware the general term *hyakkanishiki* (colours of one hundred flowers). This term alone shows that Seifū Yohei III aimed to equal Qing official porcelain. In fact, he was using the common term *jikkinte* for his works by 1878, the year when he created this term *hyakkanishiki*.⁴⁶⁷ By using the term *hyakkanishiki* instead of *jikkinte*, he claimed that he could produce one hundred colours, many more than the Chinese had done previously.⁴⁶⁸ It appears that the word *hyakkanishiki* was used for both polychrome and monochrome wares. A bowl with autumn flowers by Seifū Yohei III has an original box that reads 'Hyakkanishiki Kashibachi (sweet bowl)' (fig.

下つて万曆になりまして、五彩の焼出しを致しましたが、雅致といひ、精巧といひ、大分劣つて参りました。やはり陶磁杯も、時世に連ますものと見へまして。夫れから大清の康熙、雍正頃になりまして、恐らく盛美を極めました。(中略) 支那古代から今日に至りますまで、この時代ほど盛んであつたことはみませむ。それ故歐洲にせよ、諸外國にせよ、皆此時代のものを以て陶磁器の模範と致します。(中略) その後釉薬、染附物は種々變化致しましたが、近頃になつては一向いきませむ。」 (Kuroda 1899, 25-27).

⁴⁶⁷ Seifū 1887.

⁴⁶⁸ According to the list of his innovations and works, there would not have been one hundred different colours, but he was certainly able to produce dozens of glazes.

4-34). It shows that *wucaï* style ware was also regarded as *hyakkanishiki* as Qing official ware sometimes show mixed use of opaque, translucent and transparent glazes. He was able to create opaque pink, yellow, blue, red, brown and black. If these glazes are used together, the possible combinations are in the dozens if not hundreds. For example, the pink glaze of a vase in the Freer Gallery of Art was created by applying bright pink enamel over yellow glaze (fig. 1-48). He managed to produce a variety of shades in many colours by applying layers of different colour enamels on top of each other. In addition, he worked on high-fired monochrome glazes in his later career, specially focusing on iron based glazes (fig. 1-63, 64, 65, 66, 67). Light blue and light green glazed wares show great similarity in the tones of the glazes to Qing *douqing* wares (fig. 4-17).

Taihaku-ji (great white porcelain) clay was one of the first innovations listed by Seifū Yohei III. It was originally named as *Kōrai ranpaku-ji* (Korean egg white porcelain) in 1884, but later renamed *Taihaku-ji*.⁴⁶⁹ *Kōrai ranpaku-ji* probably refers to the rare white ware of the Kingdom of Goryeo (918-1392). A Goryeo white vase with Chinese-style flower is in the Kyoto National Museum collection (fig. 4-35). The colour of the body resembles Yohei III's white wares, but is slightly green because incomplete reduction can affect the colour (fig. 1-40, 61, 80). Undoubtedly, this type of Korean ware must have had a connection to Northern Song Ding ware. All these wares including *Taihaku-ji* by Seifū Yohei III share the same type of decorative techniques, carving or low relief decoration on a white clay body with colourless glaze.

In terms of the colour and texture of the surface, Yohei III's white wares in fact are closer to Qing Dehua ware than Korean white ware or Song dynasty Ding ware. Dehua kilns in Fujian Province, Southern China, produced a distinctive white ware often referred as *blanc de Chine*. The kilns began in the Song dynasty and were famous for religious figures, because the high plasticity of the clay allowed potters to execute works with fine modelling.

⁴⁶⁹ *Kōrai ranpaku-ji* was in *Torishirabeshō* written in 1887 by Seifū Yohei III, but the name was changed to *taihaku-ji* in *Meikarekihōroku* published in 1897 (Seifū 1887, Kuroda 1899, 31).

Vases and incense burners from the kiln often have different types of decorative motifs. Low relief decoration of 'prunus' or white plum blossom is probably one of the most distinctive. Dehua wares and became extremely popular in Europe in the seventeenth century and many copies were made. Meissen in Germany, Saint-Cloud in France, Bow and Chelsea in England, for example, all produced Dehua-type wares in the eighteenth century (fig. 4-36). A set of drinking and eating vessels by Seifū Yohei III share a similar low relief prunus on cream white porcelain body (fig. 1-40). 'Kōrai-sei' is written on the boxes of the set. Even though the potter claims that the work is in Korean style, its similarity to eighteenth century Qing Dehua wares is certainly present.⁴⁷⁰ From these observations about wares by Seifū Yohei III confirms that his interests lay in recreating Qing porcelain from the Kangxi and Yongzheng eras. Chapter One has revealed his role and position in the Kyoto ceramic field. It was easy for him to work on Qing-style porcelain because not only were there fewer competitors in the area, but also it was the most suitable model fully demonstrating his skill in glazing. Lastly and perhaps more importantly, another factor made him interested in it. It was his connection to Japanese literati culture.

Seifū Yohei III began his artistic career as a literati-style painter. His first and foremost teacher was Tanomura Chokunyū, a leading literati painter of the time. During the two year (1863-65) at Chokunyū's workshop in Osaka, he would have studied not only painting but also all sorts of activities related to Japanese literati culture. Chokunyū was a famous organiser of *sencha* tea gatherings to which dozens and even hundreds of cultured people were invited. This exposure to the latest trends in Japanese literati culture in early life affected his later creations. It is also important to consider that Tanomura Chokunyū moved

⁴⁷⁰ Seifū Yohei IV created more faithful copies of Dehua ware. A vase with two demon heads was exhibited at an exhibition in Japan in 1935 (fig. 4-37). It is a direct copy of a mid-seventeenth to early eighteenth century Dehua vase. A vase with different shape with the same demon heads is in the David Hyatt King collection (fig. 4-38). A set of eight hand-warmer resembles the shape of a Dehua incense burner from the mid-seventeenth century (fig. 4-39, 40).

to Kyoto in 1868 and stayed there for the rest of his life.⁴⁷¹ Furthermore, Seifū Yohei III was a special member of Nihon Nanga Kyōkai (Japan Nanga Association) which Tanomura Chokunyū and Tomioka Tessai (1837-1924) established in 1896.

Similar to Moku Bei decades earlier, Seifū Yohei III participated in such activities as a potter. A painting album by Seifū Yohei III dated 1907 has literati-style paintings with Chinese poems in *tensho* (seal-engraving) style Chinese characters (fig. 4-41). The title of the album is *Kanbi ishinjō* (Beauties at Leisure Delighting Spirits) which was given by Higashikuze Michitomi (1834-1912).⁴⁷² His painting style resembles his master's and these paintings show both his proper training background and artistic talent.

In addition, Seifū Yohei III was known for his talent in Chinese and Japanese poems. It is recorded that Yohei III used to exchange poems with Kuki Ryūichi.⁴⁷³ Two Chinese poems by Seifū Yohei III are included in one of the family biographies.

Casually composed

After reading *Chajin*, I feel bracing
As an experiment for ceramic making, I test a glaze
At a mountain hut in a deep spring, one day is like one year
Wind of spring daylight brings the scent of a hundred flowers for a long distance⁴⁷⁴

偶成
茶經閱罷意清爽 考案製陶原試琅
山隅春深如日歲 光風千里百花香

Same as above

Listening to the rain and looking at a banana tree through a window, my
spirit feels refreshed
After reading literature, I smell the scent of boiled tea

⁴⁷¹ Harada 1985, 45.

⁴⁷² Higashikuze Michitomi was born in Kyoto. Having supported *sonnō jōi*, he had to flee from Kyoto in 1863. After the Meiji Restoration, returned to Kyoto and worked successively as Governor-General of international relations, Mayor of Kanagawa Prefecture, Chief Officer of Reclamation and the Grand Chamberlain. In 1871, he joined the Iwakura Mission to Europe. He was Deputy President of *Genrōin* after 1882; a member of *Sūmitsuin* after 1888; Deputy President of *Kizokuin* after 1890; Deputy President of *Sūmitsuin* after 1892.

⁴⁷³ Watanabe 1930, 20.

⁴⁷⁴ Watanabe 1930, 19-20.

Thousands of jade-colour mountain peaks resemble Seifū's tripod vessel
Great white porcelain vase is decorated with falling blossoms like snow

同

聴雨蕉窓神自涼 文章讀罷煮茶香
千峰翠色清風鼎 太白磁瓶花雪嘗

The references to his ceramic wares help create his distinctive poetic style. These poems clearly demonstrate his ability in Chinese poetry.

Japanese literati culture was one of a few cultural aspects popular even during the political upheaval of the early Meiji era. It was closely related to the samurai class's educational background, which included Chinese Classics. Takahashi Yoshio or Sōan (1861-1937)⁴⁷⁵, a successful entrepreneur and a collector of *chanoyu* ware, wrote about the popularity of objects in the Japanese literati taste in Tokyo in his book *Kinsei dōgu idōshi* (History of Transition of Tea Wares), published in 1929.

The first year of Meiji (1868) was like the basin of a waterfall. It passed while people's minds were still full of anxiety. In the second year (1869), as the Imperial cart arrived in Tokyo, every official gathered in Tokyo and found a house to live in. Their houses required decorating, because a *tokonoma* alcove must have a hanging scroll and a shelf must have something to display. High-ranking officials at the time were neither a dilettantes nor devoted practitioners of *chanoyu*, but many came from the samurai class and had some education. They arranged a *shoin* style room according to their own tastes. Many of them liked the literati taste and their room decoration simply followed such taste. Therefore, after the Meiji Restoration, the first bright light in the antique field shone over those literati objects...⁴⁷⁶

⁴⁷⁵ Takahashi Yoshio was an entrepreneur and collector of *chanoyu* ware. He was a samurai of Mito domain and studied at Keiō Gijuku (predecessor of present Keiō University). After worked as a journalist, he travelled United States and Britain for two years. After returning to Japan, entered Mitsui Bank, then transferred to Mitsui Gofukuten (Mitsui Draper's Shop). Later, Takahashi was involved with management of mining industry and paper industry. He retired at the age of 51 and started to enjoy life with *chanoyu*. His tea name was Sōan and he developed a fine collection of tea wares and published widely including the catalogue of the collection *Taishō meiki kagami* (Examples of Famous Wares of the Taishō era) and *Kinsei dōgu idōshi*.

⁴⁷⁶ 「明治元年は所謂瀧壺の中心で、人心恟々の裡に過ぎ去つたが、翌二年車駕東京に遷幸せらるゝや、有司百官皆東京に集まり、夫れゞ住宅を持つ事と爲つたので、何が何でも室内を裝飾せざる可からず、床あれば掛物なくては濟まず、棚あれば置物載せざるを得ず、處で當時の高位高官は固より好事家數奇者ならざれども、多くは士族出身で多少の修養ある者なれば、夫ゞの好尚に随つて書院飾りを爲すやうになつた、其中にも先づ簡單なる文人趣味を悦ぶ者が多かつたから、室内裝飾も自ら同趣味を以て満たさるゝ事と爲り、斯くて維新直後の

This was the situation in Tokyo in the early Meiji era and was probably slightly different from Kyoto and Osaka. The popularity of Japanese literati culture was more significant in the two cities.

Japanese literati culture required Chinese wares, or Japanese wares in Chinese-style. For example, a brush, ink, and ink stone for ink painting and teapot, tea cup, tea spoon, stove, etc for *sencha*. When the Sino-Japanese trade was officially opened, rare Chinese wares became more widely available.⁴⁷⁷ For Japanese potters like Seifū Yohei III, it was an introduction to new types of wares with techniques never seen before. As a young potter having a literati background, he could not ignore the potential of Qing-style porcelain even though it was technically very challenging. His work included many *sencha* wares and small vases, which would have been used for display in the rooms of Japanese literati. His connection to Japanese literati circles and acclaim as a maker of Chinese-style ceramics were therefore important aspects of his identity as a potter.

Chinese literati in Meiji Japan

Not only ceramic wares but also Chinese people started to come into Japan. *The Illustrated London News* on 27 January 1866 included an article entitled 'A Social Meeting of Japanese Artists.'

The Japanese artists and amateurs of the fine arts (in Japan one of the fine arts is writing) hold pleasant meetings now and then... all are busy drawing with water colours, and writing both on paper and on fans. Drawings of mountains and other landscapes, grotesque designs, such as

道具界に、最初に一道の光明を放つた者は即ち文人者であつた(後略)」(Takahashi 1936, 29-30).
⁴⁷⁷ In records of *sencha* tea gathering published in the Meiji era, some Chinese wares are described as *shinhaku* (newly imported) or *shintō* (newly brought). It suggests that these items were brought to Japan recently. Such descriptions appear in records after 1871. Mashimizu Zōroku II said that Chinese Yixing teapots started to be popular in 1872 (Mashimizu 1935, 111). A certain amount of Chinese tea wares were certainly imported to Japan.

that of rats nibbling at a gigantic radish, figures of old men, women, and children, storks, fir trees, bamboos and grasses, all find their way on paper, and are afterwards given to friends; those most worthy of remark being first pasted against the wall for general admiration. Several of the Chinamen are usually invited on account of their superior handwriting (fig. 4-42).⁴⁷⁸

Chinese people were already in Yokohama as early as 1866 and were interacting with what appears to be a local Japanese literati circle.⁴⁷⁹ Certainly after the official trading agreements between Japan and Qing China in 1873, more Chinese started to arrive mainly searching for new business opportunities.⁴⁸⁰ For Japanese literati, who previously studied Chinese culture mainly through imported Chinese books, it was a new opportunity to study directly from Chinese scholars.

The first Chinese legation, Minister He Ruzhang (1838-91)⁴⁸¹ with about forty others, arrived in Japan in 1877. About half of them were scholars familiar with Classical Chinese and Chinese poetry. The Qing Legation in Shiba, Tokyo, soon became a popular destination for Japanese scholars. They wanted to study reading Chinese literature, or composing Chinese poems.⁴⁸² As so many Japanese were eager to meet Chinese scholars, wherever they visited, many people were waiting in line for impromptu lessons. For example, in 1880, Li Xiaopu (dates unknown), who visited Japan in 1880, said that he once declined requests for his calligraphy or for correction of Chinese poems requested by Japanese, because there were just too many people.⁴⁸³ In 1886, Bo Yunlong (dates unknown), a member of the group of Chinese inspectors, described the night in Nagoya:

Perhaps hundreds of people came and I was soaking [my brush] in ink even

⁴⁷⁸ Bennett 2006, 165.

⁴⁷⁹ They were probably brought by Westerners into Yokohama as translators or as servants.

⁴⁸⁰ See Chapter Three for details of the Sino-Japanese ceramic trade during the Meiji era.

⁴⁸¹ He Ruzhang is a Qing governmental official and literati scholar. He was born in Dapu, Guangdong Province. He passed Official examination in 1868 and became the first Chinese Minister in Japan from 1877 for three years. He published *Shi dong shu lue* (Records of a Visit to the East) based on his experience in Japan.

⁴⁸² Sanetō 1968, 63-65.

⁴⁸³ Sanetō 1943, 161-162. Li Xiaopu was an ex-governmental official living in Shanghai. He published *Ri ben ji you* (Travelling records of Japan) and *Ri ben za ji* (Story of Japan) about his experiences in Japan.

after midnight. On the next day, at the moment of departure, there were still people coming close to my rickshaw and added a few more sheets of paper.⁴⁸⁴

The First Kyoto Hakurankai in 1872 was the first time Kyoto was opened to foreigners. It is recorded that at least ten Chinese nationals visited the exhibition. After this event, more foreigners started to come into Kyoto. Because of the popularity of Chinese scholars, some Chinese even started to make their living in such a practice. Li Xiaopu wrote in 1880:

Feng Yun (dates unknown)⁴⁸⁵, Wang Yemei (c. 1828 – after 1892)⁴⁸⁶ and Chen Manshou (before 1850 - 1884)⁴⁸⁷ live in Kyoto. They are here, because Feng is good at calligraphy and the other two are good at painting.⁴⁸⁸

Although there has not been any extensive research into their activities, it is known that their works are in various Japanese collections (fig. 4-43).

Considering Seifū Yohei III's literati background, he would not have missed chances to meet some of those Chinese artists and scholars. After his national and international fame in the ceramic field in the 1880s and 1890s, a number of foreigners including both Chinese and Westerners visited him. Ōta Yoshihisa reprinted articles by an art critic, Seki Nyorai (1866-1938). Seki's accounts on four *teishitsu gigei'in* included a short paragraph about two Chinese scholars' visits to Seifū Yohei III.

One day, Qian Ziqin, a Confucian scholar of Qing dynasty, came and visited

⁴⁸⁴ Sanetō 1943, 159-160. Bo was a Chinese bureaucrat and published *You li Ri ben tu jing* (Report of a Trip to Japan), a report of his 1889 research trip to Japan in 1893 in China.

⁴⁸⁵ Calligrapher from Cixi, Zhejiang Province.

⁴⁸⁶ Wang was born in Jiangsu Province. Wang became a professional painter in Shanghai. His painting became popular among Japanese travellers, and he was invited to Nagasaki. In 1877, Wang visited Japan for the first time. In 1878, he came back to Japan again and stayed at Kumagai Naotaka in Kyoto for a while. In 1879, he visited Japan for the third time and stayed in Kyoto and Osaka until 1885.

⁴⁸⁷ Calligrapher from Zhejiang Province.

⁴⁸⁸ In addition to these quotes, Sanetō introduced other similar examples (Sanetō 1943, 160).

his [Seifū's] store. Having seen his works, Qian admired and immediately presented two of his poems to Seifū.⁴⁸⁹

Elegant vase with a long neck, inspired by Guan and Ge ware
Teacup is quaint as the same as jade

Made this poem to present the Master of Seifū
Qian Ziqin

膽瓶雅仿官哥製 茗碗珍同圭璧如
撰句爲清風主人雅鑒
錢子琴

Mixing jade liquid for making a cup of mist
Pouring red jade liquid for making a bowl of snow

Made this poem for the Master of Seifū
Qian Ziqin

製就霞盃調玉液 陶成雪碗注瓊漿
撰句爲清風主人雅正
錢子琴

Another day, Liang Wenwan, a man from Qing, visited [Seifū] because of his long time respect for Seifū's reputation. [They] communicated with writing for a couple of hours and [Liang] did not stop praising [Seifū]. [Liang] wrote a poem by Lu You (1125-1210), and presented it [to Seifū].⁴⁹⁰

Osmanthus grows better on barren mountains in the late autumn
I have time to spare for fishing at night in a clear stream
Worldly affairs are not comparable even to such trivial things.
Spring always fills my heart

Requested by Mr Seifū, I write Sage Feng's poem
Liang Wenyuan

山瘦更培秋後桂 溪澄閑數晚來漁
分外不如毫末事 意中常滿十分春

書放翁句 爲清風大雅君囑
梁文玩

⁴⁸⁹ 「一日清國の儒士錢子琴が來りて氏の店を訪ひ、其の製品を見て感嘆措かず、撰句二篇を贈つた。」(Ōta 1935, 67).

⁴⁹⁰ 「又清人梁文玩といふ者、夙に氏の名聲を欽慕して訪問し、數時間筆談して激賞止まず、陸放翁の詩を書して贈つた。」(Ōta 1935, 67). Lu You, commonly known as Lu Feng, is a poet and a civil official of southern Song dynasty. He was a obscure figure in the political arena as he was a pro-war activist against Jurchens of Jin dynasty. He is considered as one of the four greatest poets of Southern Song dynasty as Over 9200 of his poems have survived.

Qian Yi (Ziqin) (d. 1883) was a literati scholar from Shanghai and once a Chinese Consul in Nagasaki. We know that he added comments to Rai Sanyō (1780-1832)'s *Nihon gaishi* (History of Japan) when the book was translated into Chinese and published in Shanghai in 1879.⁴⁹¹ It is known neither when Qian was in Japan nor when he visited Kyoto. Qian was perhaps introduced to Yohei through his master's connection, as Rai Shihō (1823-89), the second son of Rai Sanyō, was a friend of Tanomura Chokunyū.⁴⁹² If not, there were many Japanese in Shanghai after the creation of the Japanese consulate in 1872.⁴⁹³ The way in which Qian described Yohei's works in the first poem is remarkable. His celadon was compared with Guan and Ge wares and *sencha* teacup was compared with jade. Qian gave his works the best compliment imaginable.

Liang Wenyuan (dates unknown) was another Chinese scholar visiting in Japan. His works are found among collaborative works of Japanese and Chinese literati. The connection between Qian, Liang and Seifū Yohei III can be explained through such activities. These events would have been memorable moments for Seifū Yohei III, but also chances to expand his domestic market as a story like this would have elevated his reputation among Japanese literati circles.

The Decline of Qing Dynasty

Post-war studies on Japanese ceramics have repeatedly mentioned that Qing taste was never popular in Japan, but this chapter has provided a rather different view. Seifū Yohei

⁴⁹¹ Qian Yi was mentioned in several accounts in Japanese. *Meiji sanjū-hakka zekku*, published in 1871, records a poem for Qian by Niwa Masaru (1846-78), Judicial Minister of the early Meiji era (Yōmandō 1871, 29). In 1872, Okada Kōjo (1820-1903), a doctor from Nagasaki, visited Shanghai in order to meet Qian (Okada 1891, 1). In 1878 Yoshitsugu Haizan (1846-1915), a literati-style painter, visited Shanghai and brought back poems by Chinese literati including Qian (Nagao 2002, 22-23).

⁴⁹² They participated in *Seiwan chakai* (tea gathering at the Azure Sea) in 1862. The detail of the tea gathering is discussed in Chapter Five.

⁴⁹³ The resident Japanese population in Shanghai surpassed 3,300 in 1904. They mainly came from Kyushu and western Honshu (Fogel 1998, 47).

III was part of a cultural circle in Japan that admired contemporary Chinese culture. People in this circle were, at the same time, his main clientele. Qing porcelain was the style demanded and he had the right connections and exceptional skills to respond to the demand. However, the Sino-Japanese War (1894-95), which lasted only for about nine months, significantly affected Japan's perception of China. Seifū Yohei III continued to produce Qing-style wares, but also started to introduce Japanese motifs in his works. This change was incorporated with his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893. It appears that he managed to substitute expected loss from the decline of Qing taste for orders from the Imperial Household.⁴⁹⁴

The popularity of Chinese-inspired porcelain continued in Japan, but other potters also started to combine both Japanese and Chinese elements into their works. Qing porcelain is still one of important elements to use. However, it is rare to see exact copies of Qing porcelain made in Japan. Many Japanese potters begun focusing more on wares of older dynasties such as Ming, Song and Tang. In addition, French Art Nouveau was introduced and style-choices were widened.

The decline of the Qing taste continued and the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1912 accelerated a national distaste of Qing-culture in Japan.⁴⁹⁵ In addition to the decline in Qing taste, another factor forced Seifū Yohei III to shift his styles toward the Japanese. It was the rapid outflow of treasures from China including a huge number of official ceramic wares. The first remarkable incident was the looting of the Summer Palace in 1860. It was followed by the plunder and looting in Beijing during the Boxer Rebellion after the international force occupied the city on 15 August in 1900. The international force consisted of eight nations: Russia, the United Kingdom, France, the United States, Germany, Italy, Austria-Hungary and Japan. The incident involved the rescue of diplomats and foreign

⁴⁹⁴ See Chapter Six for details of Seifū Yohei III's style change after 1893 and of the orders from the Imperial Household.

⁴⁹⁵ Nakano 2001, 18.

civilians due to the invasion of Boxers in Beijing and killing of 230 foreigners. After the overwhelming victory against Boxers, the international force stayed in Beijing for about a year. They camped at palaces and religious buildings inside the city. Many historical accounts describe the significance of looting and plunder by the international forces of Chinese artefacts.⁴⁹⁶

Noel du Boulay was British Commandant of the Summer Palace in Beijing between 1900 and 1901. He made an inventory of its contents, which were handed back to Chinese when they left. According to the paper given by Anthony du Boulay to the Oriental Ceramic Society on 14 May 1991, the inventory comprise 865 pieces of porcelain, 34 pieces of cloisonné, 33 pieces of jade, 2 clocks, 20 scrolls and 252 items of furniture.⁴⁹⁷ If the Summer Palace alone had about 1,200 artefacts, the Chinese treasures plundered from Beijing must have reached over thousands in total.

The outflow of Chinese treasures continued for several decades. The collection of the Household of Gong Qinwang (Prince Gong II: 1880-1936), one of only two residences of the Imperial family in Beijing unharmed during the Boxer Rebellion, became available for sale in 1912. Yamanaka Sadajirō (1866-1936), a legendary Japanese art dealer, managed to purchase a part of the collection. *Yamanaka Sadajirōden* (Life of Yamanaka Sadajirō) records the day:

Because Yuan Shikai did not pay his soldiers salary, looting occurred in Beijing. The famous Prince Gong was worried about this looting and decided to sell old artefacts in his collection. The old man [Yamanaka Sadajirō] was in China ... and rushed to the residence of Prince Gong. The large residence had dozens of storage buildings such as the sceptre storage only storing sceptres, the painting and calligraphy storage storing painting and calligraphy, the bronze storage storing old bronzes. ... With a smile on his face, the old man [Yamanaka] checked and acquired jades, old bronze wares, old ceramic wares, gemstone wares and so on one after another.⁴⁹⁸

⁴⁹⁶ Tomita 2002. 35-96. Hevia 2007.

⁴⁹⁷ du Boulay 1991.

⁴⁹⁸ 「袁世凱が部下の兵士に給料を支拂はなかつたため、北京に略奪事件の起つた事がありました、彼の有名な恭親王が、この略奪を慮り、蒐蔵の古器物を賣ることにしたので、丁度支那に居られた翁は、(中略)恭親王家へ乗込んで行かれた、なかなか廣い屋敷で、倉庫の如き

Later, Yamanaka was able to acquire another Imperial collection, which was on hold at a bank as collateral for a loan. The collection was going to be sold in Europe and the United States. Hirota Fukosai (1897-1973)⁴⁹⁹, one of the leading Chinese art dealers in Japan of the twentieth century, saw the collection displayed in Yamanaka's headquarters in Osaka.

I was surprised that there were Song Jun kiln, Ding kiln, apple-green, peach-bloom, *tenran* (sky-blue glaze ware), Black Hawthorn, *kogetsuken* (a type of *fencai*), *fencai* and *doucai* - all fine pieces for the Western market. Although they were not for the Japanese market, I wished that at least one of them would stay in Japan....⁵⁰⁰

He asked Yamanaka permission to sell eleven works to his customers in Tokyo and sold almost all the works. A *fencai* plate in the Tokyo National Museum was a part of the eleven works, purchased by Yokokawa Tamisuke (1864-1945)⁵⁰¹ from Hirota (fig. 4-14).⁵⁰² Here, Hirota described certain types of Chinese ceramics as 'for the Western market.' What did he mean by works for the Western market? The answer can be found in his writings:

Chinese art became popular all over the world. Dealers from not only Japan but also Western countries went to Beijing and Shanghai to buy, There was always something for sale everyday and I saw numerous works during this period. I could not compete against dealers who purchase in bulk with financial resources of Westerners. I acquired objects that matched my budget and passed my judgement.... I sometimes deplored my small budget

も、如意ばかしを納めた如意庫、書畫を納めた書畫庫古銅器を納めた銅器庫といった風に、数十棟もありました（中略）翁はニコニコしながら、この翡翠を初め、古銅器、古陶器、磁器等を片つ端から調べては、ドシドシ買取られました」（Ko Yamanaka Sadajirō-den hensankai 1939, 81-82).

⁴⁹⁹ Hirota was born in Toyama. He is considered the best connoisseur of Chinese ceramics of the twentieth century. He was involved in the formation of a number of leading Chinese ceramic collections in Japan. On his death bed, five hundred works from his own collection were donated to the Tokyo National Museum.

⁵⁰⁰ 「宋均窯、定窯、アップル・グリーン、ピーチ・ブルーム、天藍、ブラック・ホーソン、古月軒、粉彩、豆彩、いずれも欧米向きの結構な物ばかりなので、大変驚きました。これらは日本向きではないが、この中の品をたとえ一点でも何とかして日本に留めたいものと思って（後略）」（Hirota 2007, 118-119).

⁵⁰¹ Yokokawa is an architect, entrepreneur and ceramic collector, who donated 1068 works of his collection to the Tokyo National Museum between 1931 and 1938.

⁵⁰² Hirota 2007, 118-119.

in front of an excellent piece.⁵⁰³

He probably meant by 'for the Western market' that those works were not so popular in Japan, but also too expensive for Japanese dealers and collectors.

In the early twentieth century, the number of contemporary Japanese ceramic works such as Seifū Yohei III's acquired by Western museums decreased. This decline in Japanese ceramic art in the West was inevitable as these were either industrial products or fine versions of Chinese originals for Western viewers. Slowly but surely fine Japanese porcelain works lost its popularity internationally. The impact of the fall of the Qing dynasty was significant to the ceramic arts of Japan. Qing-style porcelain lost its popularity in Japan, while the outflow of fine Chinese porcelain destroyed the market of Japanese porcelain in the West. Consequently, only a few major ceramic works left Japan for the West after the 1900's.⁵⁰⁴

Conclusion

Chapter Four explored the activities of Chinese nationals in Japan and their impact on Japanese culture. Along side Westerners, Chinese played an important role in shaping Japanese culture in the early Meiji era. In terms of ceramics, the interaction between Japan and Qing China in the late nineteenth century was much closer than previously suggested. It was supported by Japanese admiration for Chinese culture, which existed from the Edo period. As Japanese potters used to depend on limited Chinese materials imported through Nagasaki,

⁵⁰³ 「世界的に中国美術の流行をみたので、日本人はもとより欧米各国の商人が北京、上海に仕入れに集まり、(中略) 毎日のように売物があり、その間私は数知れぬ品物を見ました。欧米人の資力をもって大量に仕入れる人にはかないませんでした、自分の目と力に及ぶものだけは買いました (中略) また名器の売物を前にして資力なきことを嘆じたことも幾度かありました。」 (Hirota 2007, 164).

⁵⁰⁴ Itaya Hazan, the fifth *teishitsyū gigei'in* from the ceramic field, would be the best example. Almost all his works never left Japan, but one vase, which was exhibited at the Panama Pacific International Exhibition in San Francisco in 1915, now in the collection of the Walters Art Museum in Baltimore.

Tsushima and Ryukyū, the conclusion of a trading agreement with Qing China resulted in the possibility of having easier access to fine Chinese wares, official porcelain ware in particular. Japanese potters were fascinated by the variety of Chinese glazes and reproducing these glazes became one of the focuses of their artistic activities.

Having considered the latest fashion in Chinese porcelain, Qing official style porcelain was a highly demanded commodity. Seifū Yohei III was central to the Japanese enthusiasm for Qing literati culture. His tactic was to substitute the shortage of originals and create Qing-style porcelain if not direct copies. Through his personal relationship with many influential Japanese literati figures, he was able to transform the family style onto a higher level. His fame even spread through Chinese literati and elevated his status in the field even higher.

However, the failure in international politics of Qing dynasty caused a slow loss of belief in China, Qing culture in particular. Because of the styles for which Seifū Yohei III was known, he was affected by this decline in Qing ideology and the actual fall of the dynasty. Seifū Yohei III introduced Japanese designs and titles already in the 1890s although he did not stop producing wares of Qing-style.

The absence of Qing porcelain in Japanese collections made later scholars believe that it was due to national distaste for the style. However, it was as late as the turn of the century when Qing China became unfashionable in Japan. Because of a growing national distaste of Qing culture in Japan, Qing official porcelain did not stay in Japan and was exported to the West. Even if there were buyers, it was too expensive for Japanese because of their popularity in the West. Although these wares were once what Japanese people in the Edo period and early Meiji era were eager to acquire. The shortage of the originals used to be the reason that Japanese potters produced many copies. It was an ironic fact that there were no serious buyers in Japan when Chinese originals became finally available in the early twentieth century.

Chapters Three and Four confirm that the relationship between Japan and China was closer during the Meiji era than ever before. For many Japanese potters who could not understand Western taste, having better relationships with China was far more important. It was more notable in Osaka and Kyoto, the centre of literati culture, than Tokyo. The Chinese community in Kobe, the largest of its kind in Japan, played an important role in introducing the latest Chinese trends to people in the area. They became the sources of inspiration for Japanese literati who were eager to have access to the original sources of information and also to have direct contacts with Chinese literati scholars.

Seifū Yohei III was certainly within a circle of Japanese leading literati figures and one of a few potters who had direct contacts with Chinese literati in Japan through this connection. Ceramic art of Seifū Yohei III displayed such cultural interactions, and national recognition of his Chinese-style work probably proves that artistic activities through interaction with Qing China were a national phenomenon.

Chapter Five

Ceramic Production for Two Tea Drinking Styles: *Sencha* and *Chanoyu*

On 24 February 1857, Inoue Kiyonao (1809-68)⁵⁰⁵, Shinano no kami (the governor of Shinano province), invited Townsend Harris, the first American consul general to Japan, for tea. In a diary, Harris records that he was served tea by Inoue after the meal.

When the heavy part of the meal was over, Shinano-no-kami had brought to him the prettiest toy tea-making apparatus I ever saw. It was in a neat, plain, wooden case, which when opened displayed a tiny furnace for boiling water, teapot and two cups, a jar of tea, mats for the teapot and cups, a scoop for the tea, and a curious machine for heating the tea over the fire before it is put in the water. Shinano-no-kami then proceeded to boil the water, measure and heat the tea, place it in the pot, pour on the boiling water, and then pour out a cup and hand it to me with his own hands; whereat all the Japanese fell into immense admiration, and then the matter was expounded to me, — that the making of tea by the Prince of Shinano and serving it with his own hands was a proof of friendship only given to those of exalted character and position, and I was requested to view it in that light, whereupon I agreed so to regard it. Then Shinano requested my acceptance of the whole concern as a proof of his great regard, and this was also agreed to.⁵⁰⁶

The set of tea wares Inoue used to prepare tea was presented to Harris when the dinner was over. Before returning to the United States, Harris gave the set to Commodore James Armstrong (1794-1868), the captain of USS San Jacinto, the ship that had brought Harris to Japan.⁵⁰⁷ The set of tea ware is now in the Peabody Essex Museum in Salem, Massachusetts, the city where James Armstrong ended his life (fig. 5-1).⁵⁰⁸ The teapot and teacups of the set have the seal of Kyoto potter Eiraku Hozen, the eleventh generation of the Eiraku Zengorō

⁵⁰⁵ Inoue and Harris signed *Nichibei shūkō tsūshō jōyaku*, (Treaty of Amity and Commerce) with the United States at the Ryōsen-ji temple in Shimoda in 1858. His diary is now stored in Kunaichō Shoryōbu (the Archive of the Imperial Household Agency).

⁵⁰⁶ Harris 1959, 307-308.

⁵⁰⁷ USS San Jacinto was built in 1850. The ship was an early screw frigate in the United States Navy. The ship arrived in Shimoda 12 August 1856 and docked until Harris's return to the United States in 1858 (U. S. Government Printing Office 1976, 295-297).

⁵⁰⁸ Tsukuda 2006, 14. The inscription on top of the shelf of tea ware states that Harris gave it to Commodore James Armstrong at Shimoda.

family in Kyoto.⁵⁰⁹

According to the commentary, we know that Harris was not served tea in the manner of *chanoyu*, but *sencha*. *Sencha* is sometimes described as a Chinese-style tea drinking as opposed to Japanese-style *chanoyu*. It was neither just roasted green tea nor steeped tea made from the tealeaf that many Japanese people would associate *sencha*, today, but a type of tea drinking institution popular in Japan from mid eighteenth to early twentieth century.

During the past decade, a growing amount of research has been published to re-examine the cultural significance of *sencha*.⁵¹⁰ As the sixth head of the Ogawa school of *sencha* and a historian, Ogawa Kōraku has published widely on the subject. This thesis depends on his previous scholarship. Moreover, Patricia J. Graham's pioneering book on *sencha*, *Tea of the Sages: the Art of Sencha*, introduced the cultural diversity of *sencha* in Japan.⁵¹¹ *Nomura Bijutsukan kiyō* (Proceedings of the Nomura Art Museum) devoted the entire 2007 issue to the subject.⁵¹² This research has confirmed the importance of this cultural fashion in the late Edo period and the early Meiji era, deeply linked with Chinese culture.

Along with research on *sencha* as a cultural practice, some attention has been given to the types of utensils used. The production of *sencha* wares motivated a few studies that have added another dimension to the history of Japanese ceramics.⁵¹³ Because of the

⁵⁰⁹ One of the oldest ceramic families in Kyoto and also one of the *Senke jissoku* (ten artisans providing various tea wares for the Sen School).

⁵¹⁰ Major exhibitions are as follows: Itabashi-kuritsu Kyōdo Shiryōkan 1996. Irima-shi Hakubutsukan 2001.

⁵¹¹ Graham 1999.

⁵¹² Nomura Bijutsukan 2007.

⁵¹³ In 1998, Seikadō Bunko Bijutsukan held an exhibition *Seikadō Bunko-zo sencha meihin shū* (Catalogue of *Sencha* Wares in the Seikadō Bunko Collection). It was the first time to display an extensive group of *sencha* ware from the Iwasaki Yanosuke collection. Iwasaki Yanosuke was the second head of the Mitsubishi conglomerate, and one of the most influential art collectors of the Meiji era. The exhibition was the turning point when scholars realised the importance of *sencha* as a cultural phenomenon (Seikadō Bunko Bijutsukan 1998). It was followed by the exhibition, *Sencha to yakimono –Edo, Meiji no Chūgoku shumi-* (Ceramics and 'sencha' –Chinese influences in the Edo and Meiji eras) (Aichi-ken Tōji Shiryōkan Gakugeika 2000).

shortage of Chinese wares, Japanese versions of *sencha* ceramic ware were produced in Seto and Kyoto already in the late eighteenth century. Production continued to grow throughout the nineteenth century and Kyoto potters were actively involved with this. We know that all generations of Seifū Yohei created a large number of *sencha* wares.

When it comes to the domestic demand for Kyoto ceramics, tea ware was always regarded as the most important. During the Meiji era, *sencha* ware was the most favoured type of ware and Seifū Yohei III provided some of the finest *sencha* wares for Japanese customers. Without understanding the significance of *sencha* to his artistic activities, this research on Seifū Yohei III or the study of Meiji ceramics would not be completed.

This chapter looks into the production of *sencha* ware in Kyoto while putting an emphasis on Seifū Yohei III. It also examines the transition from *chanoyu* to *sencha* and vice versa. This chapter mainly follows the history of *sencha* and its relationship with *chanoyu* chronologically. It consists of three parts. Firstly, it looks at the rivalry between *chanoyu* and *sencha* up to the end of the Edo period. It also examines the production of *sencha* ware in various areas of Japan. Secondly, it explores the peak of *sencha* around the time of the Meiji Restoration and the decline afterwards focusing on Seifū Yohei III and his relationships with other important figures. Finally, it re-examines how *sencha* was introduced to Britain and other western countries.

Hiesha shintō himitsu ki (Secret records of Hie Shrine) includes the oldest known comment on tea in Japan. It records that in 805 A.D. (Enryaku 25), Saichō (767-822)⁵¹⁴, the founder of Tendai sect of Buddhism, brought Chinese tea and tea seeds to Japan. He planted the seeds at the foot of Mt.Hiei and Uji in Kyoto.⁵¹⁵ According to this, the cultivation of the tea tree began by the early Heian period (794-1185). Several poems from this period praising

⁵¹⁴ In 802, Saichō was chosen for a member of a training visit to China in order to pursue the Buddhist teachings. He spent half a year in China and learned Tiantai (J.Tendai) teaching, which uses the Lotus Sutra as the main sutra. After returning to Japan, he founded the Tendai sect.

⁵¹⁵ 「一 茶木数多有之。石像仏牀有之。傳教大師御建立所。茶實從大唐大師求持。有御飯朝植此處。其後山城國宇治郡梶尾所々植弘給」 (Hanawa 1932, 99).

tea drinking confirm that tea already existed in Japan at the time.⁵¹⁶

In the latter half of the twelfth century, Eisai (1141-1215), the founder of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism, brought *matcha*⁵¹⁷, powdered green tea, to Japan upon his return from China. Eisai wrote *Kissa yōjō ki* (Tea for Good Health) in the early thirteenth century and preached that tea makes the brain clear and helps spiritual understanding.⁵¹⁸ Following a tradition from China, tea drinking was integrated into monastic practices in Zen temples and it was then that formal tradition of tea was established.

The growing attention to tea drinking in aristocratic society encouraged another type of tea drinking practice in the fourteenth century. Tea became an important part of extravagant parties, which consisted of banqueting, music and poetry. *Tōcha* (tea tasting contests) became popular. Participants were required to distinguish the provenance of different teas from drinking and were an object of gambling. The extravagant nature of these parties is called *basara*, which comes from the word *vajira*, diamond, in Sanskrit. *Basara* style tea gatherings featured rare and valuable Chinese objects displayed in formal reception rooms. An early sixteenth century book on tea gatherings, *Kundaikan souchōki* (Comments on Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Art Collection), by Sōami (ca. 1455-1525)⁵¹⁹ gives the proper room settings for these events (fig. 5-2). The illustrations in the book depict *shoin* style rooms decorated with different kinds of Chinese objects. Except for the actual drinking of tea, the main function was to use and to display rare, expensive Chinese objects, which were symbols of power and wealth.⁵²⁰ The illustrations include Chinese ceramic wares such as *Tenmoku* tea bowls of *Jian* ware (fig. 5-3). Japanese objects were probably still peripheral for

⁵¹⁶ These poems often compare tea drinking with playing the zither. People would have enjoyed music while drinking tea served in Chinese tea cups such as *Yue* ware and *Xingzhou* ware imported from China. (Hayashiya 1971a, 15-16).

⁵¹⁷ Eisai was the founder of the Rinzai sect of Zen Buddhism in Japan. He was born the son of Shintō priest, and learned teachings of Tendai sect. He set out on pilgrimages to Southern Song China in 1168 and 1187. He realised the importance of Zen Buddhism and founded Kennin-ji temple in 1202 in Kyoto, where Zen, Tendai and Shingon teachings were taught.

⁵¹⁸ Hayashiya 1971b.

⁵¹⁹ Painter and connoisseur-curator of the Ashikaga shōgun's collection. Sōami developed a landscape style base on his study of works attributed to Chinese painter Mu Chi.

⁵²⁰ Hayashiya 1971a, 28-29.

such important occasions and are seldom in the early records of this kind from the Kamakura period.⁵²¹ In short, the tea ceremony at the time was therefore available only for people who had the means to collect Chinese tea wares.

In the late sixteenth century, Japan enjoyed a time of peace after the nearly one-hundred-year period of the Warring states. Supported by wealthy merchants in Osaka, Sen no Rikyū (1521-91)⁵²² established a new style of tea drinking. He proposed a new philosophy of tea drinking and distinguished himself as a tea master of the era. He elevated the status of tea drinking to *chanoyu*, literally meaning 'boiled water for tea'. His *wabi cha*, which was inspired by the ideas of tea masters such as Murata Shukō (1423-1502) and Takeno Jō'ō (1502-55), which placed emphasis on austere refinement and acted as a counter movement against the extravagant nature of *basara* tea. Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1536-98), the chief adviser of the emperor, supported Rikyū's achievement. Although Toyotomi later accused Rikyū of treason, Rikyū's *chanoyu* was continued by his followers. It remained as the most influential tea drinking institution as many studies have described.

One of the most significant achievements of Rikyū is the usage of ordinary inexpensive Japanese or Korean wares. Using those wares, he succeeded in attracting a wider audience. Kubo Toshiyo or Chōandō (1571-1640), who was a student of Kobori Enshū, noted how Rikyū changed the way of tea drinking. In *Chōandō-ki* (Diary of Kubo Chōandō), he commented on a major tea ceremony hosted by Toyotomi Hideyoshi, on the eighth day of the third month, 1585 (Tenshō 13).

All renowned [Chinese] tea wares have lost popularity, and *chanoyu* is now completely transformed. [Sen no Rikyū] proved that it is possible even for people without famous tea wares to hold a tea ceremony⁵²³

⁵²¹ In *Kundaikan souchōki*, the only example of Japanese ware is a ceramic bowl from Arita.

⁵²² Rikyū studied *chanoyu* under Takeno Jō'ō. He served for Oda Nobunaga (1534-1582) and Toyotomi Hideyoshi. In 1585, he was given the name Rikyū from Emperor Ōgimachi in 1585. In 1591, he incurred Toyotomi Hideyoshi's wrath and was ordered to cut his stomach to death.

⁵²³ 「昔の名物とも、皆おしこみすたり、茶湯あらたまり、(中略) 世間のわひに心をつけ、又、道具もたても、遍く茶湯のなるへき事をしめして」(Kubo 1960, 363-364).

Chōandō here explains the role of Rikyū in the transition of popular tea wares. Tea wares before Rikyū's date were so expensive that good ones were only available to upper-class society.⁵²⁴ While discovering beauty in rather inexpensive and crude objects, Rikyū introduced a completely new dimension to the ceramic culture for the tea. For example, the red *raku* tea bowl by Chōjiō named 'Muichibutsu' (fig. 5-4), a word from Zen Buddhism, represents renouncement from worldly desires. The distinct form and surface of the lead-glazed low-fired earthenware tea bowl perhaps represent the taste of Sen no Rikyū.

Soon after the death of Rikyū, his *chanoyu* started to change. Having lost its main advocate, *chanoyu* slowly became authoritative similar to the time of *basara*. Rikyū's followers regarded their master's tea wares as the most important items for *chanoyu*. Even letters written by Rikyū were mounted as a hanging scroll in order to display in the tea gathering for appreciation (fig. 5-5). However, there were not enough tea wares owned or approved by Rikyū available for everyone. Then, prices started to rise again. In order to fulfil the shortage, tea masters, followers of Rikyū's tea, began appropriating new types of objects if the size and style fitted into their taste. These tea wares, approved by well-known tea masters, were respected and became valuable as well.⁵²⁵ Furuta Oribe (1544-1615)⁵²⁶, Oda Uraku (1547-1622)⁵²⁷, Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558-1637)⁵²⁸, Kobori Enshū (1579-1647)⁵²⁹ and many others all introduced a different taste into their selection of tea wares and the way of

⁵²⁴ Yabe 1998, 50.

⁵²⁵ Yabe 1992, 22.

⁵²⁶ Furuta Oribe was born as a son of a Buddhist monk and trained as a samurai. Served for Oda Nobunaga and then Hashiba Hideyoshi. Given a land in Yamashiro (Kyoto). Considered as one of seven followers of Sen no Rikyū. He introduced distinctive taste called *Oribe-ryū* (Oribe school) in selection of tea ware, designs of architecture and gardens.

⁵²⁷ Oda Uraku was a younger brother of Oda Nobunaga (1557-82). He served for Oda Nobutada (1534-82) and for Toyotomi Hideyoshi. Uraku was one of seven students of Sen no Rikyū and started his own school, *Uraku-ryū*.

⁵²⁸ Calligrapher, art director and master of *chanoyu*. Kōetsu is considered as one of the founders of the Rinpa School.

⁵²⁹ Kobori Enshū was the direct retainer of Toyotomi Hideyoshi. He then studied *chanoyu* under Furuta Oribe. After the death of Hideyoshi, the Kobori family served for Tokugawa Ieyasu. In return for their service at the Battle of Sekigahara, the family was given the Bitchū Matsuyama Castle. In 1619, Enshū was relocated in the Komuro domain. In 1623, Enshū became Fushimi bugyō and moved to Kyoto. Since then, he spent most of his life in Kyoto practicing *chanoyu*.

drinking.

Less than one hundred years after the death of Rikyū, some items for *chanoyu* did not show any trace of his taste. For example, *kinrande* ware, porcelain with overglaze gold decoration, was introduced to *chanoyu* in the Genroku era (1688-1703). This Jiajing period (1522-66) and later Ming Chinese porcelain from Jingdezhen in Jiangxi Province was extremely popular and was imported to Japan. As a result, there are many more *kinrande* wares now in Japan than China today (fig. 5-6). Besides, Japanese *kinrande* of extremely fine quality were made in Arita after the early eighteenth century (fig. 5-7). In Kyoto, Seto, Kutani and other areas produced versions of *kinrande* ware from the nineteenth century to this day (fig. 5-8).

Chanoyu was considered important for the cultured man and collecting of tea wares was encouraged. Ownership of a well-known tea ware was necessary not only to entertain important guests, but also to present to the shogun or high-ranking retainers of the Tokugawa regime.⁵³⁰ Therefore, demand for those tea wares never ceased during the Edo period. As a result, *chanoyu* once again became an activity only available to upper class society where people had the means to acquire expensive utensils. Consequently, the financial value of tea ware became one of the focuses of tea practitioners.

Sencha haya shinan (Quick Lessons of *Sencha*) was published around 1802 (Kyōwa 2) by Ryūkatei Ransui (dates unknown) from Nagoya. He criticised *chanoyu* in the preface of the book:

The way of tea began as a matter of Buddhist courtesy. Now everyone practices it, but many are just collectors of tea utensils. They only discuss the vicissitudes of the prices of those utensils. Together with a host, they speak ill of each other about the timing to purchase them. It is just to degrade the elegance, and not even one of the four meanings of *wa kei sei jaku* exists anymore.⁵³¹

⁵³⁰ See Maeyama 1992 for details of Nabeshima domain's production of ceramic gifts.

⁵³¹ 「茶道は、元来我が宗門の礼数よりいでて、今専ら世間におこなわれるけども、おおくは道具の物ずきに価の高下を論じ、主客ともに進退の遅速を誹り合う。真の風流をうしのうことのみおおくして、和敬清（静）寂の四意、一つも存することなし。」 (Hayashiya 1972, 225).

According to Ransui, prices of tea utensils were often the main topic discussed in the tea ceremony. In addition, he refers to the phrase ‘*wa kei sei jaku*’, attributed to Sen no Rikyū. ‘*Wa*’ is harmony and ‘*kei*’ is respect, explaining the ideal relationship between a host and a guest. ‘*Sei*’ is cleanliness and ‘*jaku*’ is simplicity, representing the ideal tea wares. The phrase thus describes the ideal aesthetic of *chanoyu* and he criticises that *chanoyu* had lost all these four important elements.

The alternative way of tea drinking Ryūcatei Ransui chose was *sencha*.

I have changed my mind. I departed from *chanoyu* and have practised *sencha* for over ten years. *Sencha* is very popular nowadays. People who have fine taste enjoy *sencha*. Many followers praise the achievements of Old man Kō as if they were following the ebb.⁵³²

According to Ransui, *sencha* had overtaken *chanoyu* in popularity by the time this book was published. More people were interested in the tea of ‘old man Kō’, Kō Yūgai (1675-1763), or Baisaō, whom this thesis discusses later. Similar kinds of commentary can also be found in the same period. Santō Kyōden (1761-1816), a popular writer in Edo, wrote in the short story *Katakiuchi sencha no hajimari* (Revenge: The Beginning of *Sencha*) published in 1805 (Bunka 2).

Sencha does not have a fixed manner like *chanoyu*. Everyone enjoys it as they like. *Chanoyu* tea masters spend a thousand *ryō*⁵³³ without knowing the meaning of *chanoyu*. The offhand manner of *sencha* is better than such a loss of refinement of the heart and just a repetition of the old manners.⁵³⁴

Chanoyu changed completely from the time of Rikyū and became too superficial; *sencha*

⁵³² 「寢において、志を変じ、点茶を捨て煎茶にあそぶこと、今已に十有余年なり。此のごろしきりに世間に流行して、風流の人、煎茶をもてはやし、高翁の雅趣を慕うもの、水のひきに就くがごとし。」 (Hayashiya 1972, 226).

⁵³³ The largest monetary unit in the Edo period.

⁵³⁴ 「煎茶は茶の湯の如く定まれる法式なし只自々が好に依て之を愛翫なり茶の湯の意味を知らざる茶人ただ茶器に千両を費すのみにて心の風流を失ひ古人の糟粕を舐よりは却て煎茶の無造作なるがまさりぬべし」 (Honpō Shoseki 1989, 353).

provided an alternative way of tea drinking. One of the main reasons was that the price of *chanoyu* wares increased and the focus of the practice shifted from enjoying the experience of tea drinking to collecting expensive tea wares.

Sencha, literally meaning ‘boiled tea’, was brought into Japan from China certainly by the early seventeenth century. Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi) (1592-1673), a Chinese Zen Buddhist monk, seemingly played a key role in the introduction of this tea-drinking practice into Japan. Ingen was born in Fujian Province in China. He took the tonsure at the age of ten. When he was invited to take care of a temple in Nagasaki, he was a chief monk of Wangfu-su (J. Manpuku-ji) temple on Mt. Huangbo (J. Ōbaku). Ingen arrived in Nagasaki in 1654 (Jō’ō 3). The following year, he became chief monk of Fumon-ji temple in Osaka. He founded Manpuku-ji temple in Uji, Kyoto, in 1654 when the land was given by the fourth *shogun* Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641-80) (fig. 5-9, 10).⁵³⁵

Manpuku-ji temple stores two teapots claimed to have been owned by Ingen (fig. 5-11). Both teapots are from Yixing (J. Gikō) in Fujian Province in China. They are one of the earliest physical proofs of *sencha* style tea drinking in Japan. Amazingly, one of the teapots still has some tealeaves left inside.⁵³⁶ In the early days, *sencha* was mostly practised by Chinese monks in places such as Nagasaki or Manpuku-ji temple in Uji where Chinese people were allowed to settle. Successive chief monks of Manpuku-ji were invited from China; the temple was one of the centres of Chinese culture in Japan in the Edo period.

Shibayama Genshō, better known as Baisaō, a Japanese Zen monk, introduced *sencha* to wider audiences. He was born in Hizen in 1675 (Enpō 3). His father was a doctor and worked for Nabeshima Naozumi (1616-69), a *daimyō* of Hasunoike domain in Hizen. Baisaō entered the Zen temple Ryūshin-ji of the Ōbaku sect when he was eleven years old. As a part of Buddhist trainings, he travelled around Japan. While visiting temples in Nagasaki, he learned proper Chinese ways of tea drinking (fig. 5-12). He was fifty-seven

⁵³⁵ Sasaki 1964, 9-12.

⁵³⁶ Ogawa 2003, 7.

years old when he arrived in Kyoto and opened Tsūsentei, a teashop in Higashiyama district in 1735. Soon after the opening of Tsūsentei, there was an important turning point for *sencha* in Japan in 1738 (Genbun 3).

Nagatani Sōshichirō, or Sōen (1681-1778), who was one of the leading tea manufacturers in Uji, found a production process for green leaf tea. Sōshichirō gave the new product the name *Seisei sencha* (green steeped tea) as opposed to the former Chinese-style black tea. In the same year, Sōshichirō went to Edo and introduced this new product to tea merchants. Yamamoto Kahei IV (dates unknown), the fourth generation of tea merchant Kagiya, liked the quality and the taste. Yamamoto introduced the green tea to *daimyō* and the tea soon became extremely popular in Edo.⁵³⁷ Sōshichirō showed the tealeaf to Baisaō in 1741 (Kanpō 2) four years after Sōshichirō invented the green tea. Baisaō recorded his encounter with the green tea.

The host, Nagatani Sōen, left me in a room and brought a cup of boiled tea made with the new tealeaf from his own tea plantation. It was interesting and mysterious! I tasted it for the first time and it was beautiful and had clear flavour. I wondered if any kind of tea under the heaven could compete against it.⁵³⁸

Taking advantage of the decline of *chanoyu* and the invention of green leaf tea, *sencha* started to gain popularity by the end of eighteenth century.

Baisaō spent thirty-two years in Kyoto and developed relationships with many important figures in Kyoto and Osaka. Sakaki Hyakusen (1698-1753)⁵³⁹, Itō Jakuchū (1716-1800)⁵⁴⁰, Kō Fuyō (1722-1784)⁵⁴¹, Ike no Taiga (1723-1776)⁵⁴² and Kimura Kenkadō

⁵³⁷ Mogi 1999, 33-34.

⁵³⁸ 「主翁永谷宗円、予を一室に留め自園の新茶を煎じ出さる、奇なる哉、妙なる哉、初めて試るに美艷清香の極品にて何ぞ天下に比するものあらんや」(Hayashiya 1976, 400).

⁵³⁹ Sakaki Hyakusen came to Kyoto around 1726, and worked as a painter. Hyakusen's works are often based on Chinese painting of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties.

⁵⁴⁰ Itō Jakuchū was born in Kyoto and his family owned a famous greengrocer's shop. He did not have any interests in his family business, and decided to study painting. One of the best supporters of Jakuchū was monk Daiten Kenjō of Shōkoku-ji temple, who was a good friend of Baisaō. He is known for meticulously detailed birds and animals.

(1736-1802) were among people who were linked with Baisaō. Many of them were known as painters of Japanese *Bunjinga* (Japanese literati-style painting). A portrait of Baisaō by Itō Jakuchū, for example, depicts an old man, who carries a bamboo basket looking back on a narrow bridge (fig. 5-13). The strong brushwork conveys the feeling that this old man is brimming with vigour. The inscription reveals that Kimura Kenkadō brushed a poem by Lu Tong, which had been chosen by Baisaō.

The admiration for Chinese literati aesthetics was the core of the enthusiasm of Japanese literati.⁵⁴³ Without having a chance to visit China in person, they were interested in any cultural activities related to China. *Sencha* as well as literati-style painting was copied. *Sencha* of Baisaō therefore made a great impact and Baisaō's tea ware was highly respected. Similar to the tea wares of Rikyū, it was inevitable that the set became the standard selection for his followers.

Baisaō quit selling tea when he was eighty-one years old. He burned his own tea wares at the end of his career as a tea seller and wrote:

I have always been alone and poor, with no land and no tools. You [Baisaō's tea set] have supported me for long time... Because of you, I always had money to buy food and have lived for eighty years. I became so old that I cannot use you anymore. I have joined the North Star, and my life shall end before long. After my death, if secular hands disgrace you, you will be ashamed. I thus burn you to protect your dignity. I will put you on top of the flame for your reincarnation.⁵⁴⁴

This comment shows how Baisaō was concerned about his tea wares. He could easily imagine that his tea wares would become the model for *sencha* in the future. He felt that they must be destroyed, as they would likely be missed. By burning the tea wares, he perhaps

⁵⁴¹ Kō is a Confucian scholar, seal carver and painter. He lived in Kyoto and studied calligraphy and Chinese Classics. He was a friend of Kimura Kenkadō, Ike no Taiga, Baisaō and teacher of Boku Bei.

⁵⁴² Ike no Taiga was born in Kyoto and studied under Yanagisawa Kien, one of leading literati scholar at the time known for his painting and calligraphy in the Japanese literati style.

⁵⁴³ Ma 2006, 63.

⁵⁴⁴ 「我從來孤貧、無地無錫。汝佐輔吾曾有年、或伴春山秋水。或澗松下竹陰。以故飯錢無缺。保得八十餘歲。今已老邁。無力干用汝。北斗藏身。將終天年。却後或辱世俗之手。於汝恐有遺恨。是以賞汝以火聚三昧。直下向火焰裏轉身去。」 (Munemasa 1972, 88).

wanted to show that *sencha* could be enjoyed with any kinds of wares. However, some *sencha* wares of Baisaō were in the possession of Kimura Kenkadō, and the set has survived (fig.5-14). There is a tea jar and a set of five teacups. According to Ueda Akinari, those pieces are contemporary with Baisaō.⁵⁴⁵ These appear to be porcelain wares made in Qing popular kilns in Jingdezhen. It is an unfavourable result for Baisaō, but illustrations of his tea utensils were published a number of times and became the standard set in the end.⁵⁴⁶

Production of *sencha* ware in the Edo period

Qing dynasty ceramic wares such as Baisaō owned were probably imported into Japan sometime in the eighteenth century.⁵⁴⁷ However, demand for those Chinese tea wares would have easily surpassed the amounts that were coming into Japan. The government attempted to control the Chinese trade channels (fig. 5-15). Ryūkatei Ransui in his book *Sencha hayashinan* explains that some tea wares for *chanoyu* can be used for *sencha*.

My brother used to prefer *tencha* (*chanoyu*) and practised it. Many of the tea wares, he used to use [for *chanoyu*], are now used in the same way [for *sencha*]...

When it is difficult to acquire a water pot, one for *tencha* [*chanoyu*] is fine to use [for *sencha*].⁵⁴⁸

Increasing demand for Chinese wares for *sencha* probably caused a shortage of those Chinese wares. *Sencha hayashinan* is a textbook for *sencha* beginners published in 1802. It

⁵⁴⁵ 「高遊外（中略）茶具玩器、当時の唐山製の物を用ひ（後略）」(Nakamura 1992, 329).

⁵⁴⁶ Osaka Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2003, 73.

⁵⁴⁷ According to Ogawa, the mid to late Ming wares were tended to be favoured by Japanese *sencha* practitioners of the nineteenth and the twentieth century (Ogawa 2003, 56, 78). For example, Ming Yixing pots and *kosometuke* type blue-and-white teacups and tea jars have been the most popular items. However, differences in popular wares of mid to late Ming dynasty and the first half of the Qing dynasty are not so obvious. It is probably correct to say that favoured wares are not necessarily made during Ming dynasty as long as it is in the mid to late Ming style.

⁵⁴⁸ 「兄翁はじめ点茶を好みて、もてあそびしが、其の時の道具を其の儘に用ゆるものおおし。」(Hayashiya 1972, 231). 「(水つぎは) 得がたき時は、何にても点茶に用ゆる水次にてよし。」(Hayashiya 1972, 239-240).

was the time when *sencha* was gaining its popularity. Appropriating *chanoyu* ware to *sencha* was one way, but there was also another way. Ransui explains:

Stove and coaster: Originally, the shape was copied from a Chinese ware, which *sencha* masters use nowadays. Toyosuke of Fujimihara in our domain has started to make copies recently. The shape and quality are as good as ones from Kyoto.⁵⁴⁹

Ueda Akinari and Ryūkatei Ransui clearly suggest that some *sencha* wares were made in Japan. There were not enough Chinese *sencha* tea wares available and many *sencha* ceramic wares were made in not only Seto but also other kilns including Arita and Kyoto. The practice probably began by the end of eighteenth century.

Production of *sencha* ware in Japan was stimulated by a shortage of Chinese ware under the growing popularity of *sencha*. Various potters and kilns began producing *sencha* ware. Among the potters in Kyoto, Moku Bei was particularly important in this respect. Moku Bei is a seminal figure in relation to the production of *sencha* ware in Japan. He was the only known potter among Japanese literati circles at the time who played a distinctive role in producing *sencha* wares. When he was young, he apprenticed himself to Kō Fuyō, a renowned seal carver, and studied Kō Fuyō's ancient Chinese objects. He was introduced to Kimura Kenkadō on the eveventh of the first month, 1796 (Kansei 8). On that day, Moku Bei was probably allowed to study Kenkadō's Chinese book collection.⁵⁵⁰ Moku Bei found *Tao shuo* by Zhu Yan and asked permission to copy it. This encounter with *Tao shuo* made him pursue the career in ceramics.⁵⁵¹ Soon after, Moku Bei studied ceramics under Okuda Eisen.⁵⁵² A large number of works by Moku Bei are *sencha* wares and a complete set is in

⁵⁴⁹ 「涼炉、并びに台 元、唐製に此の形ありしをうつしてやき出せしより、今もっぱら煎茶家に用ゆ。近頃わが国、富士見原の豊助、又それをうつし製するに、形も品も京師より来るものにおとらず」 (Hayashiya 1972, 232).

⁵⁵⁰ The book collection of Kimura Kenkadō is now in the collection of the National Archives of Japan.

⁵⁵¹ Kawahara 1978, 55.

⁵⁵² Ogata Kenzan fired the first porcelain ware in Kyoto, but with only limited success (Wilson 1991, 102-103).

the collection of the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 5-16). *Sencha* wares like this set by Moku Bei would have been one of the most favoured kinds of the time.

Numbers of influential rulers supported *sencha* culture by collecting Chinese tea wares and holding tea gatherings. In the early nineteenth century, many kilns were established to produce *sencha* ware. Some of the kilns were under direct control of *daimyō*. In order to improve production, they invited well-known potters from various areas famous for ceramic production. Many Kyoto potters including Moku Bei worked in such local kilns in the Kansai area. Among those kilns, some were interested specially in production of ceramic wares for *sencha*.

The Kii Tokugawa family owned a kiln in the family villa Kairakuen and the kiln produced both wares for *sencha* and *chanoyu*. It is known that Monk Hōgen, or Baisaō in Yatsushashi (1760-1828)⁵⁵³, was invited by Lord Tokugawa Harutomi to give lessons on *sencha* along with Zen teachings, poetry and music. In 1801, Moku Bei was invited to instruct at the ceramic kiln.

Hikone domain, ruled by the Ii family, was another influential *daimyō* family that produced ceramic wares for *sencha*. In 1829 (Bunsei 12), the townsman Kinuya, or Itō, Hanbei (dates unknown) invited potters from Hizen and established Kotō kiln. In 1842 (Tenpō 13), Hikone domain requisitioned the kiln and put production under their direct control. The twelfth Lord Ii Naoaki (1794-1850) and the thirteenth Lord Ii Naosuke (1815-60)⁵⁵⁴ focused on the production of high quality ceramic wares. Naosuke was a lover of tea drinking and the kiln was put under his supervision. He practiced both *chanoyu* and *sencha*. During the time of Naosuke, the kiln was enlarged from five to seven chambers and

⁵⁵³ Zen Buddhist monk Hogen was born in Fukuoka and studied Zen Buddhism in Nagasaki. In 1786, went to Kyoto. In 1805 (Bunka 2), became the chief monk of Murryōju-ji temple in Aichi.

⁵⁵⁴ Ii Naosuke was born as a son of the eleventh Lord Ii Naonaka (1766-1831) in Hikone. From a young age, he practised various cultural practices such as *chanoyu*, Japanese poetry, the hand drum, spearmanship and swordsmanship. He was a *chanoyu* master of the Sekishū School and supported the local production of ceramic tea wares. In 1858, Ii became *Tairō* (Chief advisor) of Shogun Tokugawa Iesada and Iemochi and concluded the Treaty of Amity and Commerce with the United States. Ii was assassinated in front of Sakurada-mon gate of Edo castle in 1860.

he invited many potters from ceramic centres such as Hizen and Seto to improve production. Despite its high reputation, the kiln was operated by the domain for only twenty-one years. Ii Naosuke was assassinated on twenty-fourth of the third month, 1860 by eighteen fanatics from the Mito domain and Satsuma domain outside Sakurada-mon gate of the Edo castle. Having lost the support of Naosuke, the kiln was closed in 1862, two years after his death.

Kotō kiln is famous for porcelain wares in the *kinrande*-style. Their porcelain wares are often decorated with intricate paintings depicting Chinese subjects in red and gold. For example, *chashinko*, a tea jar for *sencha*, shows about a dozen Chinese boys playing (fig. 5-17). On the side of the lid, lines from the poem on tea by Lu Tong, a Chinese literati scholar, are inscribed. Another side shows Chinese-style landscapes and Chinese legendary hermits. The combination of red and gold would have taken from Chinese counterparts. Those Chinese themes worked to reinforce its connection to China.

Besides Kairakuen kiln and Kotō kiln, other regional kilns actively produced tea wares for *sencha*. Tōzan kiln in Himeji domain operated between 1830 and 1853 (Tenpō - Kaei period). The kiln was funded by the domain. A number of Kyoto potters were invited to work including Ninnami Dōhachi and Ogata Shūhei I. Fig. 5-18 is an example of wares from Tōzan kiln. In addition, Ōjiyama kiln was established during the Bunsei era (1818-30) in Shinoyama domain. The kiln was owned and operated by the domain. The domain invited Kinkodō Kamesuke and he produced high quality porcelain wares with various glazes. The kiln was especially famous for molded pieces with celadon glaze, for which Kinkodō Kamesuke was known.⁵⁵⁵ Ōjiyama kiln wares show a strong connection with refined Chinese taste. There are many writing materials with highly sophisticated taste. The kilns presented here were mostly in Kansai area, but the production of *sencha* ware was not limited to that area. For example, the names of *sencha* teacups are on a list of production

⁵⁵⁵ Hikonejō Hakubutsukan 2001, 94-95.

records of the Nabeshima kiln in Kyushu.⁵⁵⁶

Previous studies have suggested several reasons why these *daimyō* spent large sums of money to build ceramic kilns. Some kilns were established to encourage the local economy and to minimise the cost of transportation of ceramic wares, while others were built due to the more personal interests of *daimyō*.⁵⁵⁷ Kairakuen kiln was probably established for the *daimyō*'s own enjoyment. Kairakuen kiln, Kotō kiln, Tōzan kiln, Ōjiyama kiln along with some other kilns were built or requisitioned in order to create tea wares for particular tastes. The designs and styles of those wares often use Ming and Qing dynasty ceramics as models. If there were enough Chinese wares available, they would not have needed to fire expensive ceramic wares for themselves. It therefore confirms the popularity of Chinese wares in elite society and the shortage of Chinese wares available in Japan.

This chapter has discussed the transition of tea drinking institutions by following the history of tea wares up to the late Edo period. It has revealed an interesting relationship between the popularity of tea and the availability of ceramic tea wares. It appears that a new type of tea drinking institution emerged when the price of tea wares reached the point when sometimes even people in the upper class society could afford them. In the Edo period, *sencha* overtook *chanoyu* in popularity. Production of *sencha* ware was soon developed in order to, it seems, cover the shortage of Chinese wares. Some individuals even established kilns to produce their own tea wares for *sencha*. Those copies of Chinese wares also gained popularity, and some wares became as important as the originals. When the potters were related to well-known Japanese literati scholars, the historical background added extra meanings. *Sencha* tea ware by Moku Bei would be the best example. As Kyoto and Osaka were the two centres of *sencha*, potters in Kyoto played an important role. Besides Moku Bei, there were several important potters who produced *sencha* ware such as Eiraku Hozen, who was the maker of ceramic wares given to Townsend Harris, or Kinkodō Kamesuke, Ninami

⁵⁵⁶ Nakano 2001, 15.

⁵⁵⁷ Kameda 1991. Hikonejō Hakubutsukan 1999 and 2001.

Dōhachi and Seifū Yohei I.

Words and phrases often change meaning as time goes on. Some words carried certain connotations that were not necessarily recorded. Once the connotation of a word is lost, it is extremely difficult for people today to comprehend the real meaning of the word. Today, the word 'seifū' in Japanese means no more than 'pure wind'. However, it was, in fact, a word closely associated with *sencha*. For instance, Baisaō used to put up a banner with calligraphy 'Seifū' by the Zen monk Daiten Kenjō (1719-1801), the 113th chief abbot of Shōkoku-ji temple in Kyoto (fig. 5-19).⁵⁵⁸

The word Seifū was most likely taken from *Chage* (J.*Chaka*, E. *Tea Poem*) by the Tang dynasty poet Lu Tong (790-835). Lu Tong composed the poem after receiving the first tea of the season from his friend, Meng Jianyi (dates unknown). In the poem, he thanked his friend for the tea and described the sensational experience after drinking it. Following is a citation from the poem.

With bowl number one, my throat and lips are moistened;
With bowl number two, my lonely sadness is dispelled.
Bowl number three cleans out my withered bowels,
Leaving only five thousand volumes inside!
With bowl number four, I raise a light sweat and all the worrisome affairs of
my entire life evaporate through my pores.
With bowl number five, my skin and bones are purified;
With bowl number six, I commune with immortal spirits.
Bowl number seven I can barely get down:
I only feel *seifū* [pure wind] blowing, swishing beneath my arms!
The mountains of the Peng-lai paradise, where can they be found?
The master of the Jade Stream [Lu Tong] wants to mount this *seifū* [pure
wind] and go there now.⁵⁵⁹

The poem describes how tea drinking made Lu Tong reach spiritual enlightenment. To feel

⁵⁵⁸ Daiten Kenjō was born in Ōmi. He was one of the main supporters of Baisaō and wrote an account of Baisaō, entitled *Baisaō go* (Memoir of Baisaō). He was also one of the main supporters of Itō Jakuchū, and a friend of Kimura Kenkadō and Ike no Taiga. Daiten translated and published widely on Chinese texts and poems including *Sencha ketsu* (Secrets of *Sencha*), which was co-published with Kimura Kenkadō.

⁵⁵⁹ 「一碗喉吻潤，二碗破孤悶，三碗搜枯腸，惟有文字五千卷。四碗發輕汗，平生不平事，盡向毛孔散。五碗肌骨清，六碗通仙靈。七碗吃不得也，唯覺兩腋習習清風生。蓬萊山，在何處。玉川子乘此清風欲歸去。」 Translation by Jonathan Chaves, in *Addiss* 1984, 120-121.

seifū (pure wind) implies that he was able to catch a glimpse of the world of the sages. The word therefore embodied the philosophy of *sencha*.

During the Edo and the Meiji eras, Japanese literati artists frequently quoted this poem. *Kyūsu gasan* (Teapot painting with the poem of tea) by Moku Bei in the collection of the Idemitsu Museum of Art is a good example. Moku Bei produced a painting of his *sencha* teapot with Lu Tong's poem (fig. 5-20). Moku Bei wrote the poem on long and narrow vertical paper with his characteristic calligraphy.⁵⁶⁰ This example explains the importance of the poem for Japanese literati. The word *seifū*, the focal point of the poem, was the reminder of *sencha*. Seifū Yohei I must have been given the name by his master Ninnami Dōhachi, and perhaps started his independent career as a potter for *sencha* wares. A teapot by Ninnami Dōhachi has *Chage* (fig. 5-21). Seifū Yohei I uses similar materials and the painting style (fig. 5-22). A *ryōro* stove, by Seifū Yohei I suggests a link between him and Baisaō. It is cylindrical porcelain stove with underglaze blue-and-white decoration of plum blossoms (fig. 5-23). At the back, there is a poem by Baisaō, Tsūtenkyō ni chamise o hiraku 通天橋開茶舗 (Open a teashop at the Tsūten bridge of Tōfuku-ji temple). The poem describes the scene in which Baisaō serves tea at Tsūtenkyō in Tōfuku-ji temple. In fact, a large number of surviving examples of Seifū Yohei III is *sencha* ware. It suggests that *sencha* ware was certainly one of his best selling products. Many surviving examples of his work are *sencha* ware other than works for exhibitions or special commissions. As discussed in the preceding chapter, his strong involvement with Japanese literati circles through Tanomura Chokunyū helped him to expand the market. The Seifū family seemingly took advantage of the growing popularity of *sencha*, and it was one of the most important factors for their success.

***Sencha* Tea Gatherings**

⁵⁶⁰ Munakata 2007, 8-11.

Meien zuroku, illustrated records of *sencha* tea gatherings, allows us to know how those Japanese pieces were used in *sencha* tea gatherings. It will give us some idea about the change in the status of Japanese *sencha* wares. *Meien zuroku* includes illustrations of objects settings with detailed information on each artefact. These publications became common towards the end of the Edo period and continued throughout the Meiji era. As well as the detailed descriptions of tea gatherings, it sometimes provides background information on *sencha* such as who was involved and why the event was organised. Miyazaki Shūta has listed seventy-four *meien zuroku* in his article, but suggested there would have been more examples.⁵⁶¹ According to the list, *sencha* was held in a number of major cities in the late nineteenth century. These were published not only in Kyoto, Osaka, Nagoya and Tokyo, but also in regional cities such as Takamatsu, Toyama, Okayama, and Matsue. Moreover, recent research has discovered a number of buildings for *sencha* tea gatherings.⁵⁶² According to Ogawa Kōraku, these were found not only in Kansai, but even in Kyushu and Tohoku.⁵⁶³

Meien himmoku (Catalogue of *Sencha* Tea Gatherings) published in 1852 is one of the earliest examples.⁵⁶⁴ It was printed after a tea gathering held at Yasaka Kōun-kaku villa in Kyoto in order to celebrate the seventieth birthday of the painter Yamamoto Baiitsu (1783-1856).⁵⁶⁵ The book included a detailed list of tea wares and other items. Illustrations show how objects were displayed. This format was followed by many similar ones. *Seiwan chakai zuroku* (Pictorial Record of Azure Sea Tea Gathering) published in 1863 (Bunkyū 3) is one of the earliest and the most influential *meien zuroku*. It was the record of two tea gatherings entitled ‘*Seiwan chakai*’ (Azure Sea Tea Gathering) held in spring and summer

⁵⁶¹ Miyazaki 1996, 34-35.

⁵⁶² Ryōju 2007.

⁵⁶³ Interview with Ogawa Kōraku on 7 February 2007.

⁵⁶⁴ Miyazaki 1996, 33.

⁵⁶⁵ Yamamoto Baiitsu was born in Nagoya and studied various painting schools such as Kanō school, Maruyama-Shijō school, and literati-style painting. He was famous for his bird and flower painting as well as Chinese landscape paintings. He was both active in Kyoto and Tokyo, and linked with many painters such as Tani Bunchō (1763-1840) and Nakabayashi Chikutō (1776-1853).

1862 (Bunkyū 2).⁵⁶⁶ After this publication, the presentation of this book -illustration of settings with detailed information on displayed objects- became the standard model for *meien zuroku*.⁵⁶⁷

The main organizer of this tea gathering in Osaka was the Seifū Yohei III's master, Tanomura Chokunyū (1814-1907). The event recorded an unprecedented success as Tanomura Chokunyū explained in the preface:

Almost a hundred people were in charge of serving tea. ... One thousand and two hundred people managed to enjoy tea. I cannot be sure of the exact number, but the number of people who did not participate probably reached several thousands. Many people who came late were unable to participate.⁵⁶⁸

The early 1860's is associated with the period of political turmoil in Japan and the Azure Sea is only a half-day boat trip from Kyoto. It is surprising to know that such a prosperous and extravagant event was held in Osaka at the same time. This perhaps suggests that people's lives in Osaka were very different from these in Edo and Kyoto.

Tanomura Chokunyū also explained the reason for holding this event:

Tea drinking has a long history in our country. It is the art of *sencha*, Yūgai [Baisaō], a venerable sage, made popular. In this spring, we planned to build a stone monument of *Seiwan* [Azure Sea]. It could have some connection with the fact that this year is exactly the one-hundredth year after the death of the sage. We also planned to hold tea gatherings at a number of locations around the bay on 23 April. It was to pray for the repose of his soul and to celebrate the completion of the monument. There are conflicting, unproven, opinions about the story of *Seiwan*. One says that Lord Toyotomi [Toyotomi Hideyoshi] ordered a messenger Qi from Ming dynasty to sink several jars filled with water from Lake Xihu, to the bottom of this bay. The current rotates as, touching the jars, it swirls. One says that willow trees from Lake Xihu were planted on the bay. The colour of the tree is reflected in the blue colour on the water. Therefore, it was named after it. Another says that the water vane is connected to the west land where the water of Lake Xihu springs up. Therefore, the current swirls. One says Zen master Yinyuan [Ingen] praised the water and said the taste is similar to water in Lake Xihu.

⁵⁶⁶ See Moriya 2007 for detailed analysis of all fourteen settings of these events.

⁵⁶⁷ Miyazaki 1996, 33.

⁵⁶⁸ 「執其事者。殆百人。(中略) 投刺而至者一千二百人。不投者。則不知幾千人。後至者多不得喫茶云。」 (Tanomura 1863, 5).

Therefore, the name was *Seiwan* as West Bay.... We set up seven settings in total. Each setting was named after words taken from Lu Tong's poem on tea.⁵⁶⁹

The event was a commemoration of the hundred-year anniversary after the death of Baisaō and for the celebration of completing the stone monument of the Azure Sea. It recorded several thousand participants and viewers in one day. The monument illustrated is still standing in Sakuranomiya Park in Osaka (fig. 5-24). The calligraphy of two Chinese characters, *Sei* and *Wan* (Azure Sea), is carved into a large piece of stone, close to two metres in height (fig. 5-25). The curved inscriptions at the back state that the calligraphy was by Honda Tadachika (1812-74), *daimyō* of Yamazaki domain in Harima.⁵⁷⁰

Tanomura Chokunyū gave a detailed explanation of the importance of this bay for the history of *sencha* in Japan in the preface. For this purpose, he referred to three legends about why the bay was named 'Seiwan'. He insists that the taste of the water is similar to Lake Xihu. Lake Xihu is situated to the west of Hangzhou in Zhejiang Province. *Bai shi wen ji* (Anthology of Bai) by Bai Juyi (772-846) was brought to Japan in 838 (Jōwa 5), and it was the first Chinese document in Japan referring to the lake.⁵⁷¹ From the thirteenth century onwards, Japanese intellectuals often referred to the lake. Later, Lake Xihu was considered as the place of the most famous literati scholar, Lin Bu. Lin Bu lived in a mountain looking over Lake Xihu and refused to serve rulers. After Lin Bu was introduced to Japan, Japanese literati artists preferred the subject matter. The six-panel screen of Lake Xihu by Ike no Taiga in the Tokyo National Museum is a good example (fig. 5-26).

⁵⁶⁹ 「我那喫茶之行久矣。而煎茶之技。實盛於遊外翁。余今春與同士謀。建青灣碑。適丁翁百年忌辰。可謂有因緣也。又相謀。豫卜四月二十有三日。為翁追福。設茶會於灣上數處。併以落碑之為鳥。而青灣之說諸口紛々。無有所拋。或云。豐公征韓之役。命明使齋西湖水數盞以沈此灣底。故流勢觸壺盤旋生渦。又移西湖柳於灣上。其色相映而青。故以為名。或云。水脉接西土西湖而涌生。故有渦紋。或云隱元禪師賞此水曰。有西湖味。故或名西灣。(中略)合為七席。摘盧仝茶歌中字。製小旗。以便過客目牌。」(Tanomura 1863, 4-5).

⁵⁷⁰ Ōishi 2006, 707. The Honda family ruled the domain after 1679. Honda Tadachika was the Eighth Lord of Yamazaki domain.

⁵⁷¹ Isoya 1999, 469. Bai is a Chinese poet of the Tang dynasty. He was born in Xinzheng of Henan Province. He passed the official examination in 800. He completed *Bai shi wen ji* in 845.

Visual images of the lake were studied from Chinese paintings and printed book illustrations. Japan's image of Lake Xihu was established by the end of the eighteenth century. Idemitsu Sachiko has suggested that the Japanese image of Lake Xihu does not always follow the compositions of Chinese originals. The image of the lake in Japan is a result of mixing images from a number of different sources. Lake Xihu was remodelled in Japan by those literati painters to make the image more believable to audiences without a chance to see the lake in person.⁵⁷²

Tanomura Chokunyū borrowed this tradition of landscape painting in the composition of the illustration of *Seiwan*. The illustration is similar to typical compositions of Lake Xihu. The composition of four panels from the right roughly matches the illustration by Chokunyū (fig. 5-26, 27). As *Seiwan* did not have an island in the centre of the lake, Chokunyū painted drifting boats to match the composition. It was a common practice in nineteenth century Japan to make a connection between Japanese landscape and Lake Xihu. The eight views of Kanazawa and Waka no Ura (Bay of Waka) were compared to Lake Xihu. Shinobazu pond in Edo was called *shō Saiko* (small Lake Xihu).⁵⁷³ Tokugawa Harutomi's Kairakuen garden was taken the design from Lake Xihu as well.

Chokunyū claimed that the Azure Sea had connections to Lake Xihu in order to authorise *Seiwan* as an important place for *sencha*. He declared that their practice is based on Chinese models, which they considered the most important. In addition, records in the *Seiwan chakai zuroku* suggest another important fact on how Japanese literati regarded the relationship between China and Japan. For the first setting of *Seiwan chakai*, a hanging scroll painting, *Rikuu sencha zu* (*Li Yu enjoying sencha*) by Zhou Chen (1460-1535), a painter of the Ming dynasty, was displayed (fig. 5-28). Li Yu (733-804), who is the subject of this painting, wrote the first essay on tea, *Cha jin* (The Classic of Tea) dated 780. He is respectfully called *Chasei* (the Sage of Tea) in Japan. This painting here works as a symbol

⁵⁷² Idemitsu 2005, 50.

⁵⁷³ Isoya 1999, 472.

representing the origin of their practice. There were many Chinese objects displayed with the painting such as celadon incense burners and teacups with Chenghua marks.⁵⁷⁴ The first setting mainly uses historical Chinese objects as if the host were trying to recreate the original Chinese *sencha* setting.

Compared to the first setting, the last setting shows a completely different approach. The title of the last seventh setting was '*Fūsei*', 'wind emerges'. It was taken from Lu Tong's poem on tea. The last setting was therefore the climax of the event. The assemblage of objects shows an interesting fact. Japanese objects are used as the main features of the last and the most important setting. Three hanging scroll calligraphies by Ingen, Toyotomi Hideyoshi and Baisaō, the three key figures in the history of *sencha* in Japan, hang as the main objects of the setting. A hanging scroll painting of *sencha* wares at the back is a collaborative work by different artists. The teapot is by literati painter Okada Hankō (1782-1846)⁵⁷⁵, the tea cups are by literati painter Yamamoto Baiitsu, and the charcoal is by *sencha* master Tanaka Kakuō (1782-1848).⁵⁷⁶ The teacups were made in Maiko kiln, Harima, and the inscription is by Tanomura Chikuden. Furthermore, the slender wooden plaque bears the calligraphy '*seifū*' by Baisaō (fig. 5-29).

Tanomura Chokunyū probably regarded this event as a landmark in the history of *sencha* in Japan. He recreated the history of *sencha* that begins with authentic Chinese objects and ends with Japanese objects. As Ike no Taiga created a new image of Lake Xihu with Japanese ideas, *Seiwan chakai zuroku* shows the creation of a Japanese-style *sencha* institution. No matter if they drank tea or not, several thousand people looked at these objects displayed on the day. Even people, who did not show up, could learn about the event from this publication with the detailed information about each object. Consequently, Tanomura Chokunyū succeeded in the establishment of a standard of Japanese *sencha*

⁵⁷⁴ Tanomura 1863, 2-6.

⁵⁷⁵ Okada Hankō is a painter of the literati-style and a son of Okada Beisanjin.

⁵⁷⁶ Tanaka Kakuō is the founder of Kagetsu-an School of *sencha*, which is the oldest school of *sencha* founded in 1838.

settings.

Sencha was based on the admiration of China, but the examination of *Seiwan chakai zuroku* suggests that *sencha* of the late nineteenth century had a slightly different approach. Examining the way certain tea wares were used, some Japanese wares were esteemed as highly as authentic Ming and Qing Chinese wares. Accordingly, *sencha* ware of the Meiji era shows a great diversity. Beside, copies of Chinese wares, many new styles were produced. As a result, the demand for Japanese wares continued even after the Meiji Restoration in 1868.

Production of *sencha* ware in the Meiji era

Kyoto potters were still playing a leading role in the production of *sencha* ware. Seifū Yohei III managed to distinguish himself by not only introducing *sencha* wares with new types of decoration, but also collaborating with different artists. A set of five *sencha* teacups made by Seifū Yohei III has overglaze iron black calligraphy by Tanomura Chokunyū (fig. 5-30). He was the most important collaborator throughout Seifū Yohei III's career. In 1864, two years after *Seiwan chakai*, Seifū Yohei III apprenticed himself to Tanomura Chokunyū in Osaka and studied literati school painting for three years. Their relationship as master and pupil and as a literati painter and a potter cannot be explained without *sencha*. While studying painting with Chokunyū, Yohei must have seen tea gatherings or perhaps even had a chance to participate. Moreover, he probably had chances to study fine *sencha* wares in person, as Chokunyū owned an extensive collection inherited from his father Chikuden. Even though Seifū Yohei III had to go home after spending three years in Osaka due to ill health, their relationship continued. The set of five *sencha* teacups shows a continuous link between Chokunyū, the leading literati painter, and Yohei III, the leading potter.

Tanomura Chokunyū was not of course the only artist Seifū Yohei III worked with. A blue-and-white water pot and a set of five blue-and-white teacups are in the collection of Shinshō-ji temple in Gifu prefecture (fig. 5-31, 32). These underglaze blue paintings were by Kanō Tessai (1845-1925), who was a well-known engraver and carver. The collection of the temple was a donation from Kanō Tessai.

Kanō Tessai was born in Mino, present-day Gifu prefecture, in 1845 (Kōka 2). In 1855 (Ansei 5), he became a trainee monk in the Zen temple Sūfuku-ji. Three years later in 1861, he took the tonsure and began studying Zen teachings and Buddhist painting. After leaving the priesthood at the Meiji Restoration in 1868, Tessai travelled around Japan as a carver and an engraver. After seven years of travelling, he settled in Kanda in Tokyo. In 1875, Sano Tsunetami met Tessai on the street. Tessai was selling wooden carvings. Sano was surprised at the quality of his artistry and invited Tessai to his house. Tessai soon distinguished himself as an artist in various media after this encounter. His painting, engraving and carving won numbers of prizes at art competitions.⁵⁷⁷ In 1882, or 1883, Sano Tsunetami advised Tessai to move to Nara in order to pursue his research on antiques and study of carvings. In 1884, he was allowed to reside in Shingon-in, a small hermitage in Todai-ji temple and continued his studies. One of the most interesting points in Kanō Tessai's career is that he worked as a guide for the research trip of national treasures organised by the Ministry of Education.⁵⁷⁸ Later, he was employed as a lecturer at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō.⁵⁷⁹

Tessai's involvement with *sencha* probably began as a practice in the Zen temple.

⁵⁷⁷ In 1881, Kanō Tessai won the Third Prize for Technical Excellency at the Second National Industrial Exhibition for an engraved bamboo plaque which was in Sino-Japanese eclectic style. The following year, he demonstrated carving to Emperor Meiji.

⁵⁷⁸ In 1884 and 1886, Ernest Francisco Fenollosa, Okakura Kakuzō and others undertook the research. Kanō Tessai was with the group at the moment when Yumedono of Hōryū-ji temple was opened and Guze kannon was unwrapped (fig. 5-33, 34). Soon after the investigation, Kanō Tessai was commissioned to research art objects in Nara by the ministry.

⁵⁷⁹ The school was opened in 1889. After teaching at the college for a month, Tessai resigned and went back to Nara. The reason for his resignation is unknown, but Shiga Naoya (1883-1971) described him as 'a man with *shokunin katagi* (artisan spirit) and did not get along well with other famous 'artists'' (Shiga 1937, 282).

He lived on selling *chasoku*, wooden or bamboo tea spoons, for *sencha* before being promoted by Sano Tsunetami. After his resignation from Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Tessai actively worked with other artisans and made tea wares for *sencha*. With Hata Zōroku I (1806-90) and II (1855-1932)⁵⁸⁰, Hayakawa Shōkosai I (dates unknown) and II (1860-1905)⁵⁸¹ and Seifū Yohei III and IV, Tessai made many collaborative works. He passed away in 1925, and his last work was a wooden sculpture of Baisaō in Manpuku-ji temple in Kyoto. On 12 October 1925, Tessai completed it (fig. 5-35). On the same day, he became ill and died sixteen days later.⁵⁸² The collection of Shinshō-ji temple consists of a large number of works by Kanō Tessai. The temple was Tessai's family temple and Tessai kept close connection with the temple after the death of his father in 1876.

The life of Kanō Tessai and his involvement with *sencha* culture provide another insight into Japanese *sencha* wares. Kanō Tessai and Seifū Yohei III were both leading artists of their own fields. Collaboration work of Seifū Yohei III and Kanō Tessai suggests the diversity of *sencha* in the Meiji era. Other Kyoto potters such as Takahashi Dōhachi IV (1845-97)⁵⁸³ and Miura Chikusen I (1854-1915)⁵⁸⁴ worked under similar circumstances and actively produced *sencha* ware.⁵⁸⁵ At the same time, Tessai personally knew all the important figures of the art field in Tokyo including Sano Tsunetami, Okakura Kakuzō (1862-1913)⁵⁸⁶ and Ernest Fenollosa. It suggests the wide extent of *sencha* culture, and the

⁵⁸⁰ Hata Zōroku I is a metal founder in Kyoto. Zōroku I studied founding at Ryūmondō in Kyoto. He was commissioned to create the seals of Emperor Kōmei (1831-67), Emperor Meiji and Tokugawa Yoshinobu. Hata Zōroku II is a son of Zōroku I.

⁵⁸¹ Hayakawa Shōkosai I is a bamboo basket maker in Kyoto and he is known as the first basket maker to put signature on his work. The family is famous for their Chinese style *karamono utsushi* basket. Hayakawa Shōkosai II is a son of Shōkosai I.

⁵⁸² See Asai 1979, 1980 and Gifu-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 2003 for further details of Kanō Tessai.

⁵⁸³ Takahashi Dōhachi IV is the oldest son of Takahashi Dōhachi III (1811-1879). In 1874, he succeeded the headship of the family from his father. He studied casting technique in Tokyo and introduced in Kyoto. He is known for celadon and blue-and-white porcelain.

⁵⁸⁴ Miura Chikusen I apprenticed himself to Takahashi Dōhachi III and spent seventeen years at the Dōhachi workshop. Chikusen elevated his reputation by winning prizes at domestic ceramic competitions and exhibitions. In 1903, he published Japanese translation of *Tao shuo*.

⁵⁸⁵ Nakanodō 1981, 39-46.

⁵⁸⁶ Art administrator of the Meiji era. Okakura was born in Yokohama as a son of merchant. He entered Tokyo University in 1877 and there, he met Ernest Fenollosa. Okakura entered the Ministry of

possibility of a connection between Seifū Yohei III and these individuals.

Sencha and Chanoyu

Sencha followed the similar path to other tea institutions in the past. In the late nineteenth century, there was a sign of decline. In 1877, Narushima Ryūhoku (1837-84)⁵⁸⁷ criticised the collecting habit within *sencha* practice.

Nowadays, all *sencha scholars*, who tend to love archaic objects, praise *zisha* [red or brown stoneware clay typical of Yixing ware] clay wares. I am annoyed when they discuss the shapes of those wares. I agree to choose an old one rather than a new one. However, an old one costs sometimes more than a hundred yen while a new one costs fifty *sen* [1/200 of an old one]. Although they have the same shape, people are happy to buy the [expensive] one, which has not even reached 400-500 years old. [I think] they are the same as a wealthy old amateur collector who collects mountain weeds. I do not like to do it.⁵⁸⁸

Similar to *chanoyu* in the eighteenth century, the cost of *sencha* utensil had increased steadily to the end of nineteenth century. It was because collecting fine wares became the main interest for many practitioners of *sencha*. Among those collectors, Oku Randen (1836-97) was one of the most important and influential.

A blue-and-white porcelain teacup by Seifū Yohei I in the Seikadō Bunko Collection used to belong to Oku Randen (fig. 1-18). Oku Randen was born in Osaka into a

Education. In 1886, he travelled Europe and USA with Fenollosa for preparation of the establishment of Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. He taught at the school until he was expelled in 1898. Then, Okakura established Nihon Bijutsu-in in 1898. He visited China in 1893, India in 1901 and became an advisor to the Department of Chinese and Japanese Art at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston from 1904.

⁵⁸⁷ Narushima Ryūhoku was adapted into the Narushima family of Official Confucian scholar of the Tokugawa government. He succeeded his father Narushima Kadō and became the eighth official Confucian scholar. He worked for Shogun Tokugawa Iesada and Iemochi, but was later discharged due to his criticism towards the governmental policy. After the Meiji Restoration, he joined inspection trip to Europe in 1872. He was later offered the post of Education Minister, but declined. In 1874, Narushima established *Asano Shinbun* (Asano Newspaper), and became a known journalist of the era.

⁵⁸⁸ 「近來煎茶家ノ好古癖有ル者皆朱泥ヲ品賞シ其ノ形ヲ論ズル極メテ喧シ新渡ヲ棄テ、古渡ヲ取ルハ余モ同意ナレド其ノ形ニ就テ新渡ノ価五十錢ナルニ古渡ハ一百円以上ニ価スル者有リ世間喜デ之ヲ買フ而シテ其ノ古渡ナル物亦四五百年前ノ物ニモ非ズ好事ノ甚シキ万年草ヲ愛スル富家翁ノ臭味ト一様余輩ハ与セズ」 (Narushima 1877).

family of fish merchants. He studied Chinese Classics and practised the calligraphy style of Dong Qichang (1555-1636), and studied Bunjinga painting from Hine Taizan (1813-69).⁵⁸⁹ He took over the family business and moved to Edo in 1858 (Ansei 5), the year Japan concluded a treaty of commerce with five foreign nations. He traded dried fish, rice and oil in the domestic market. He was extremely successful in his business and later became a representative in the Diet. He is known for his deep involvement with *sencha* and a collection of tea wares. His collection is a good example of the taste of *sencha* ware early when *sencha* gatherings became more and more lavish towards the late 1880s.

After Oku Randen's death, Iwasaki Yanosuke (1851-1908)⁵⁹⁰, one of the founders of the Mitsubishi Combine, purchased a large part of the collection. Yanosuke would have paid a large sum of money to acquire the finest collection. The involvement of one of the wealthiest collectors of the Meiji era suggests the price of *sencha* tea wares had reached their highest point. It is recorded that Iwasaki family held large *sencha* tea gatherings in 1915 and 1919.⁵⁹¹ The Seikadō Bunko Collection focuses on Chinese wares, and there are only a few Japanese items. The blue-and-white teacup by Seifū Yohei I would have been one of the most favoured Japanese *sencha* tea cups at the time.

When these extremely wealthy entrepreneurs started to collect *sencha* wares seriously, the price of fine wares probably reached their highest point. Consequently, the popularity of *sencha* jeopardised *sencha*'s superior position against *chanoyu*. The trend was reinforced by the First Sino-Japanese War, which broke out a few years before the death of Oku Randen. Even though the war lasted for only ten months, the victory had a great impact on Japanese literati culture as mentioned in the previous chapter. Ironically, the victory of the nation weakened the basis of *sencha* culture and accelerated the speed of the decline. *Sencha*

⁵⁸⁹ Hine Taizan is a painter of Japanese literati-style painting. He was born in Sakai, Osaka, and lived in Kyoto. He was a close friend of Nukina Kaioku.

⁵⁹⁰ The second president of the Mitsubishi Combine. He greatly contributed the development of the mining industry and shipbuilding. He collected Japanese and Chinese arts and books and founded Seikadō Bunko around 1892.

⁵⁹¹ Kobayashi 1998, 13.

was inextricably linked with the image of China. The image was diminished because of the series of defeat China experienced in the later half of the nineteenth century including the First Sino-Japanese War.⁵⁹²

During the Meiji era, *chanoyu* gradually recovered popularity. The eleventh and thirteenth head of the Urasenke School played important roles in revitalising *chanoyu*. *Chanoyu* was practiced in the Edo period, but the Sen School was not the most popular school. Since the fourth shogun, Tokugawa Ietsuna (1641-80) appointed Katagiri Sekishū (1605-73) as an instructor of *chanoyu*. Katagiri Sekishū was the *daimyō* of Koizumi domain in Yamato, and the founder of the Sekishū School. The school therefore had been the official *chanoyu* school of the Tokugawa regime. On the other hand, three Sen Schools were almost only practised in the Kyoto area at the end of Edo period.

Sen Sōshitsu XI or Gengensai, (1810-77), the eleventh head of Urasenke School, was known for his effort to transform Sen no Rikyū's *wabi* tea in order to fit the modern society of the Meiji era. Gengensai introduced standing manner of tea gathering in order to serve tea to foreign guests, who came to visit the First Kyoto Exposition at Nishi Hongan-ji temple in 1872.⁵⁹³ Sen Sōshitsu XIII or Ennōsai (1872-1924), spent six years in Tokyo and promoted *chanoyu*.

This promotion of *chanoyu* in the Meiji era started to produce a result at the end of the nineteenth century. In 1885, Atomi Gakuen was opened in Kanda, Tokyo as a women-only school, and included *chanoyu* in the curriculum. At Kazoku Jogakkō (Peers School for Women) also taught *chanoyu* in their curriculum. Li Zongtang (dates unknown), who was a Chinese official inspector on Japanese educational system, visited the school in 1902 and recorded that *tencha* (tea ceremony) in the style of Omote Senke was taught in the special classes along with painting, English language, playing zither and flower

⁵⁹² Kobayashi 1998, 14. Kumakura 1980, 145-146. Ogawa 1980, 331.

⁵⁹³ Tsutsui 1985, 197-198.

arrangement.⁵⁹⁴ In 1908, the Ministry of Education allowed women's high schools to have additional courses if necessary.⁵⁹⁵ Eventually, *chanoyu*, or *chadō*, was considered one of the accomplishments of cultured women.

While *chanoyu* began to gain popularity in the 1870s and 1890s, serious collectors of *chanoyu* started to be involved with this movement of the Urasenke School. Masuda Takashi (1848-1938), one of the most successful industrialists and a serious *chanoyu* practitioner, developed a large collection of *chanoyu* tea ware and Buddhist art. Masuda along with other wealthy industrialists not only collected *chanoyu* wares but also used the tea gatherings to meet with business partners. In order to become a successful executive, *chanoyu* was considered an important business tool.⁵⁹⁶ According to those movements related to *chanoyu*, there was seemingly a shift from *sencha* to *chanoyu* in progress in the 1890s.

The rivalry between *sencha* and *chanoyu* can be observed from an event on 24 and 25 May 1900. Fushimi no miya Sadanaru shinnō (Prince Fushimi, 1858-1923)⁵⁹⁷ attended a ceremony for the tenth anniversary of Kyoto Art Association in Nanzen-ji temple in Kyoto. Crown Prince Yoshihito (1879-1926) had been invited for the occasion, but cancelled as he was married two weeks earlier. Prince Fushimi attended on behalf of the Crown Prince. The record was published in *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi* (Journal of Kyoto Art Association).⁵⁹⁸ This record reveals the competition between *sencha* and *chanoyu*. Circa 1900 was a

⁵⁹⁴ Li 1902, 53.

⁵⁹⁵ Kumakura 1980, 296-304.

⁵⁹⁶ See Guth 1993 for a detailed discussion of the life of Masuda Takashi and his role in the art collecting of Modern Japan.

⁵⁹⁷ Prince Sadanaru is the fourteenth prince of the Fushimi family. He succeeded to the title of Prince Fushimi at the age of five from his older brother Prince Sadanori of Fushimi (1836-62). He began studying Chinese Classics at the age of nine, and continued throughout his life. As a General of the army, joined in the Russo-Japanese War and Sino-Japanese War. On behalf of Emperor Meiji, the Prince took part in diplomatic activities and visited Europe and North America. He met the President of the United States, Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919) during his visit to St. Louis Purchase Exhibition in 1904. The prince also met King Edward VII (1841-1910) during his visit to Japan-Britain Exhibition in 1910. He was the honorary head of the Third National Industrial Exhibition in 1890 (Fushimi no miyake 1931).

⁵⁹⁸ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1900b, 33-34.

transitional period from *sencha* to *chanoyu*.

According to the record, Prince Fushimi was invited for entertainment after the reception in Tenju-an of Nanzen-ji temple on 24 May. Tomioka Tessai (1837-1924)⁵⁹⁹, Imao Keinen (1845-1924)⁶⁰⁰, Mochizuki Gyokusen and Morimoto Tōkaku (b. 1877)⁶⁰¹ performed a painting demonstration. On the following day, Prince Fushimi sat for a *sencha* tea gathering. Prince enjoyed tea and looked at three hand scrolls: an orchid and bamboo painting by Noro Kaiseki (1824-98)⁶⁰², a grape painting by Riguan (late thirteenth century) with inscription by Nukina Kaioku and an old painting of a man. Then, he moved to another room in the same building. He enjoyed *chanoyu* tea ceremony and enjoyed *chanoyu* tea wares. For the *sencha*, most pieces were by contemporary artists of the time. In terms of ceramics, works by Seifū Yohei III, Miura Chikusen I and Miyagawa Kōzan I were used. A porcelain cylindrical cloth holder with blue-and-white landscape painting by Seifū Yohei III was on the list of objects. On the other hand, most of the tea wares used for *chanoyu* were mostly antiques. Prince Fushimi enjoyed two different styles of tea one after another. It is an important fact that the two conflicting tea-drinking institutions were put together for an event held by an important member of the Imperial family. This event clearly shows the shift from *sencha* and *chanoyu* and the turning point would have been around 1900.

⁵⁹⁹ Tomioka Tessai was a son of Buddhist clothing merchant in Kyoto. He studied Japanese and Chinese Classics and Buddhist learnings under Ōtagaki Rengetsu (1791-1875) and literati-style painting under monk Tetsuō and Kinoshita Itsuun in Nagasaki. After the Meiji restoration, he worked as a Shintō priest in Nara and Osaka. In 1881, he returned to Kyoto and travelled around Japan. Between 1894 and 1904, he taught ethics at Kyoto-shi Bijutsu Kōgei Gakkō. In 1897, established Nihon Nanga Kyōkai with Tanomura Chokunyū and Taniguchi Aizan. He became a *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1917.

⁶⁰⁰ Suzuki School painter Imao Keinen was born in 1845 in Kyoto of a family of *yūzen* textile dying. He was trained as a textile designer at his youth. After studying *ukiyo-e*, Keinen apprenticed himself to Suzuki Hyakunen. He became a leading Kyoto painter of the early Meiji era and received prizes at international exhibitions. He was appointed to the position of *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1904.

⁶⁰¹ Shijō School painter Morimoto Tōkaku was the oldest son of Kōno Bairei. He studied painting under his father and Kikuchi Hōbun (1862-1918). He was adopted to a painter Morimoto Kōchō and called himself Morimoto Tōkaku.

⁶⁰² Japanese literati-style painter Noro Kaiseki is considered as one of the three greatest literati-style painter of Kii domain. He studied Confucian teachings and Nagasaki School painting in his youth. He apprenticed himself to Ike no Taiga at the age of twenty-one and studied Japanese literati-style painting. He was acquainted to many important figures in arts such as Kimura Kenkadō, Kuwayama Gyokushū, Rai Sanyō, Shinozaki Shōchiku and Tanomura Chikuden.

The revival of *chanoyu* can also be observed from the revival of raku tea bowls in the early twentieth century. *Raku* tea bowls by generations of the Raku family have been highly regarded in the tradition of *chanoyu*. For the *chanoyu* tea gathering for Prince Fushimi, however, a tea bowl by Kiyomizu Rokubei and a sweet bowl by Eiraku Hozen were used. It is interesting that the tea bowl was not raku ware, but a *gohon* style bowl by one of the earlier generations of Kiyomizu Rokubei. This suggests that a *raku* tea bowl was not as compulsory as it is today. In 1919, a small article ‘Raku-yaki ga takai (Raku ware is expensive)’ was published in *Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai zasshi*.

Recently the price of *raku* ware has gone up. I can understand if it is only old *raku* ware, but it is surprising that the price of works by current Kichizaemon (Raku Kichizaemon XII) continues to rise... The number of buyers suddenly increased and there are not enough items regardless of the price.⁶⁰³

According to this comment, we can assume that raku ware by contemporary masters were not popular during the Meiji era. In the 1910s, the growing popularity of *chanoyu* attracted more people into collecting *chanoyu* wares. It was as late as 1919 when raku ware became too popular to find on the market. This was the moment when *chanoyu* had regained the position of leading tea drinking institution in Japan.

This chapter has tried to show that there was always competition among the different branches of *chanoyu* and between *chanoyu* and *sencha*. The first shift occurred in the late eighteenth century. *Sencha* based on the style of Baisaō emerged and later surpassed the popularity of *chanoyu*. The second shift occurred around 1900. Leaders of the Sen School succeeded in revitalising *chanoyu* and eventually *chanoyu* regained the position of the most popular tea drinking institution in Japan from *sencha*. This mechanism of the decline of both *chanoyu* and *sencha* had many aspects in common. One of the main reasons

⁶⁰³ 「近頃メツキリと藥物が高くなって来た夫れも古い處なら無理もない話であるが現在の吉左衛門の作が目に見えてドンヽ高騰して行くのだから一寸驚かされる（中略）買人が俄に殖ゑて来た為め値に拘らず品がなくなって来た」（*Dai Nihon Yōgyō Kyōkai* 1919, 22-23).

for their weakness was connected to tea wares. These institutions were originally connected to Buddhist practices, but there was a moment when the connection to Buddhism became less important, whereas collecting well-represented and expensive tea wares became more important.

At the end of the Edo period, when Japanese-style *sencha* tea gatherings were established, there was only limited transaction between Japan and China. Artists in Japanese literati circles had to recreate Chinese *sencha* tea gatherings through their own interpretation of written materials from China. The foundation of Japanese *sencha* tea gathering was almost completed in the 1860's, and soon official trade channels between the two countries reopened. The sudden rise in supply of Chinese tea wares supported the continuous rise of *sencha* culture in Japan throughout the Meiji era.

***Sencha* in the West**

It is common to see Japanese ceramics in museums in the western countries, but often the title of those wares is quite conventional such as 'jar', 'vase', 'plate' and 'bowl'. If the museum was more considerate, audiences might see a label as 'tea bowl' with some explanation of *chanoyu*. Ceramics of the period have been discussed without consideration of the importance of *sencha* culture during the period. Generally speaking, Western museums seldom display a set of *sencha* wares, while a set of *chanoyu* wares are one of the commonest displays. The last section of this chapter examines the reasons why *sencha* has been overlooked in the West.

One of the earliest records of *sencha* by a Westerner is Von Siebold's book illustration (fig. 5-36).⁶⁰⁴ A page is titled *sencha* and there are sixteen pieces of *sencha*

⁶⁰⁴ von Siebold 1852, 150-151. Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796-1866) is a German doctor. After graduating a medical school, Siebold was appointed to a doctor of the Army of Dutch East India Hospital. In 1823, he arrived in Batavia. Then, he was appointed to a doctor of Dutch mercantile

wares illustrated. It is important to note that *Seiwan chakai zuroku* by Tanomura Chokunyū is in the Siebold Collection. The commentary by Townsend Harris in 1857, which was cited at the beginning of this chapter, is proof that any foreigner visiting Japan would have had a chance to experience *sencha*.

In the British Museum collection, there are four sheets of photograph of a *sencha* setting taken in Japan in the early Meiji era (fig. 5-37). William Gowland (1842-1922)⁶⁰⁵ collected these photographs. Gowland was a British archaeologist and was invited to Japan in 1872 to work for the new Imperial Mint in Osaka. These photographs were most likely taken during his visit to Japan between 1872 and 1888. In the lower left hand corner, there is a set of tea wares on a footed-tray. The way the objects were displayed is similar to the illustrations in *Meien zuroku*. Many different kinds of objects were put together and it appears rather crowded. The Osaka Mint is located by the Ōkawa River. At the time of Gowland, it was called the Yodo River. On the opposite side of the river, there is the monument of the Azure Sea where Tanomura Chokunyū organised one of the largest tea gatherings in history. When Gowland was in Osaka, he was in the centre of *sencha* culture in Japan. He must have been invited for *sencha* tea gatherings where he had a chance to take the photographs.⁶⁰⁶

However, those examples are very few and it is not common to find comments on *sencha* in publications in Britain. *Sencha* was not known in the West even though it was a

house on Dejima in Nagasaki. In Nagasaki, he taught Japanese medicine. In 1826, von Siebold travelled to Edo and met Tokugawa Ienari (1773-1841). In 1828, he was imprisoned as he exported Japanese maps to Holland. In the following year, he was expelled from Japan. He arrived in Holland in 1830, and published *Nippon, Fauna Japonica, Flora japonica*. In 1859, he was allowed to visit Japan again and spent over two years.

⁶⁰⁵ Gowland is a British chemist and armature archeologist employed and was employed by Japanese government as an instructor for the metallurgy and production of the new coinage. During the sixteen-year visit in Japan, he travelled around Japan to examine Japanese archaeological sites. The Gowland collection was later acquired by the British Museum. The collection consists of over three hundred artifacts, over two hundred glass negatives and photographic prints of Japan. See Harris 2003 for details of Gowland.

⁶⁰⁶ Although Gowland left one of the largest collections of excavation records and archaeological findings in Japan to the British Museum, there is only one small diary. We do not know when these photographs were taken.

popular tea drinking institution in Japan. In 1880, Augustus Wollaston Franks in his book *Japanese Pottery* explained that *chanoyu* alone is Japanese tea culture.⁶⁰⁷ In 1890, Japanese art collector James Lloyd Bowes noted Japanese tea implements in his book. The accompanying illustration has the heading 'Implements used for ceremony of *chanoyu*.' However, those illustrations include tea implements for *sencha*. A *raku* style tea bowl and *sencha* tea bowls are both labelled '15. Tea bowl (*chawan*)'.⁶⁰⁸ It appears that *sencha* was not yet introduced to Britain in the late nineteenth century. Instead, *chanoyu* was introduced as the only Japanese tea drinking institution. Therefore, there was seemingly some confusion about the two different kinds of Japanese tea ceremonies.

Moreover, *sencha* requires various kinds of utensils and it can be rather complicated for foreigners. It might have spurred by the unfamiliarity of *sencha* outside Japan. *Chajin* by Li Yu listed twenty-five different kinds of tea utensils.⁶⁰⁹ In Japan, the earliest textbook on *sencha*, *Seiwan sawa* (Teatime Stories of the Azure Sea) listed eleven kinds.⁶¹⁰ In 1794 (Kansei 6), Japanese classical scholar Ueda Akinari (1734-1809) listed twenty-one kinds in *Seifū sagen* (Trifling Stories of Pure Wind). Thus, the number is not fixed.⁶¹¹ The complexity of the tea wares and the unknown institution of drinking tea must have made it difficult for foreigners to study the purpose of these wares. Furthermore, it was related to how ceramics of the Meiji era were introduced to the West, because the availability of different kinds of wares was not even. Ceramic wares popular in Japan never left the country, whereas unpopular wares were exported to gain foreign currency. The former was tea ware for *sencha* and the latter was for *chanoyu*.

Five volumes of *Kankozusetsu tōki no bu* (Illustrated Discourse of Ancient Objects: Ceramics) were published successively between 1876 and 1879 by Ninagawa Noritane

⁶⁰⁷ Franks 1906, 2-3.

⁶⁰⁸ Bowes 1890, 20-21.

⁶⁰⁹ Li 1976, 56-79.

⁶¹⁰ *Seiwan chawa* is the earliest Japanese textbook on *sencha*. Ōeda Ryūhō (dates unknown) published it in 1756. (Hayashiya 1972, 89-101).

⁶¹¹ Hayashiya 1972, 192-196.

(1835-82).⁶¹² Within the five volumes, there are thirty-six tea bowls and thirty-five tea caddies for *chanoyu*, whereas there are only three teapots and one tea cup for *sencha* (fig. 5-38). The South Kensington Museum, the Victoria and Albert Museum, purchased 215 ceramic works exhibited in the Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876. Among the 215 works of Japanese ceramics, there are thirty-two tea bowls and eleven tea caddies for *chanoyu*, whereas only one teapot and two tea cups for *sencha*.⁶¹³

There were extremely few *sencha* wares compared to the number of *chanoyu* wares exported. As discussed above, *sencha* wares were highly regarded in Japan in the nineteenth century. Considering the popularity of *sencha* in Japan, there was more than enough demand for *sencha* ware within Japan. Only a small amount of *sencha* ware was available for export. At the same time, potters of *sencha* ware like Seifū Yohei III did not need to export them. Unless a foreigner visited a potter in person like Townsend Harris, they could not experience this Chinese-style of tea drinking. *Sencha* tea wares were consumed within Japan and rarely left the country. Consequently, *sencha* was never properly introduced in Western countries.

On the other hand, many antique tea wares for *chanoyu* were exported. In the early Meiji era, *chanoyu* had not recovered popularity yet. In addition, the entire *samurai* class became jobless after the abolition of the *han* system. In order to support themselves, many *chanoyu* tea wares appeared on the market and at auctions. The distinctive appearance of those wares would have entertained customers in the West. As a result, more *chanoyu* tea wares were introduced to Western countries as utensils for traditional Japanese tea drinking.

Without the proper introduction of *sencha* to Western countries, the time of *sencha* passed and the time of *chanoyu* arrived. *The Book of Tea* by Okakura Kakuzō was published in 1906 when the change was happening (fig. 5-39). This book has been considered a pioneering book on *chanoyu* to introduce tea into the West. However, Okakura actually

⁶¹² Ninagawa Noritane was a governmental official and collector of antiquities. He held important posts in the Meiji government and contributed to establishing museums and organising exhibitions in Japan. He retired due to ill health in 1877, and started an printing studio (Rousmaniere 2002b).

⁶¹³ Read 1880.

commented on *sencha* twice in this book.

Like Art, Tea has its periods and its schools. Its evolution may be roughly divided into three main stages: the Boiled Tea, the Whipped Tea, and the Steeped Tea. We moderns belong to the last school.⁶¹⁴

The use of the steeped tea of the later China is comparatively recent among us, being only known since the middle of the seventeenth century. It has replaced the powdered tea in ordinary consumption, though the latter still continues to hold its place as the tea of teas.⁶¹⁵

Here, Okakura admits that 1906 was still the time of *sencha*, but he did not write about it. Instead, the tea of *The Book of Tea* was *chanoyu*. As discussed above, 1906 was the time when *chanoyu* was regaining popularity, but it does not explain why Okakura only focused on *chanoyu*. He spent a large part of the book on an explanation of Zen. The connection between *sencha* and Zen Buddhism was just as close as *chanoyu*. What made Okakura focus on *chanoyu* still needs further research but for some reason Okakura decided to exclude *sencha* from his book.

Before concluding this chapter, it is important to note Chinese involvements in the issue of tea during the Meiji era. Chinese people/guests would have probably participated in both *sencha* and *chanoyu* tea gatherings in Japan, but there are extremely few accounts both in Japanese and Chinese sources. Some diaries of Chinese visitors to Japan record that they were served tea, but these descriptions are often too ambiguous to even distinguish if it was *sencha* or *chanoyu*. The author failed to examine if any Chinese were actively involved in the issues discussed above.

Conclusion

The history of Japanese ceramics between the Kamakura and the Edo period was discussed in conjunction with the history of tea. When there was a new trend in tea culture,

⁶¹⁴ Okakura 1906, 20.

⁶¹⁵ Okakura 1906, 32.

new types of ceramic wares were made in response to demand. In short, it is crucial to know the shifts in the trend in tea drinking culture in order to follow the history of Japanese ceramics. Chinese wares were always the most favoured. Nevertheless, once they became too expensive or too few in quantity, Japanese wares were made to fill the shortage of Chinese wares. However, the status of those Japanese wares was sometimes as important as that of their Chinese counterparts'.

The early Meiji era was a time of *sencha*. *Sencha* started to become popular during the latter half of the eighteenth century. It attracted more people during the nineteenth century and the peak was in the early Meiji era, 1860s - 1880s. It was not a coincidence that Seifū Yohei III established his position in the ceramic field of Kyoto and Japan. He was the third generation of the ceramic family of *sencha*. His popularity was partly due to his close connection to *sencha*.

However, the time of prosperity ended around the turn of the century. There was a combination of reasons for the decline of *sencha*. Firstly, there was overwhelming demand for *sencha* wares. Good *sencha* wares became too expensive. At the same time, *chanoyu* started to recover popularity. The support *chanoyu* received from the government and the nouveau riche class helped *chanoyu* to take over the position of the most popular tea drinking institution. Finally, the victory of the First Sino-Japanese War accelerated the speed of decline of *sencha*, which had admiration for China as its basis. Seifū Yohei III continued to be one of the leading potters in Japan, but the rise of young potters and the continuous distortion of Japanese understanding of Chinese aesthetics pushed him slowly off the main stage.

Chapter Six

Official Patronage of Ceramics by the Imperial Household

Earlier chapters examined specific issues surrounding works by Seifū Yohei III and the economic, political and cultural contexts in which they were produced. He was especially famous for his Qing-style porcelain wares created for circles of Japanese literati, including aficionados of *sencha*, or Chinese-style tea drinking. He also produced 'Japanese-style' wares for a clientele with taste leaning towards a more indigenous aesthetic. Regardless of the cultural preferences or ideological tendencies of those who bought his ceramic wares, Seifū Yohei III was recognised as a leading potter of Japan and ownership of works by Seifū Yohei III would have been a status symbol for the owner. In the Kyoto ceramic industry, he was among a group of potters who develop a successful commercial operation without following the rapid Westernisation of the industry.

Today, however, Seifū Yohei III is remembered neither for his contribution to the development of the local industry nor for his distinctive styles. He is now better known for his remarkable success in the national ceramic competitions, which led to his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in* (Artist for the Imperial Household). The *teishitsu gigei'in* system was founded in 1890. The last designation of *teishitsu gigei'in* was made in 1944, a year before the end of World War II. The system was terminated when Japan was defeated, but it led to the establishment of the *Jūyō mukei bunkazai hojisha* (Holder of Intangible Cultural Asset) system, better known as *Ningen kokuhō* (Living National Treasure), in 1954 to conserve and to promote Japan's intangible cultural heritage.⁶¹⁶ Seifū Yohei III is counted among the seventy-nine artists who were appointed to a positions of *teishitsu gigei'in* during the

⁶¹⁶ Artists with outstanding gifts in traditional arts, crafts and performing arts, are awarded the title for the purpose of conserving Japan's distinctive culture. A holder receives an annual subsidy of two million yen. This system was introduced in 1954, and over three hundred individuals have been designated and over one hundred individuals currently have the title. Even though it is a universally recognised system, it is a rarely known fact that the root of the system can be traced back to Meiji era (1868-1912). See Rousmaniere 2007 for further details on the system.

fifty-four year duration of the system. Among them, there were five potters: Seifū Yohei III, Miyagawa Kōzan I, Itō Tōzan I, Suwa Sozan I and Itaya Hazan.

The issue of *teishitsu gigei'in* in the Meiji era raises a number of important questions. For instance, the role of imperial patronage is a key to understanding the development of Japanese arts and culture during this pivotal period. Moreover, it also touches on the issue of how Japanese national identity was challenged by the course of internationalisation. How did Japan, mostly isolated from the rest of the world for centuries, manage to preserve its distinctive tradition and cultures? What kind of arts and cultures did the Meiji government believe characterised 'Japanese' art? This chapter examines these issues through an analysis of the establishment of the system of *teishitsu gigei'in* and Seifū Yohei III as the first potter to receive the title.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first looks at the establishment of the system and its role as defined by the Meiji government. It will examine a series of discussions by key political figures such as Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835-1901)⁶¹⁷ and Kawase Hideji (1841-1907)⁶¹⁸, with the aim of understanding conceptual issues around the creation of the system. The specific circumstances surrounding the selection of Seifū Yohei III will also be examined. It is important to note that many works by Seifū Yohei III were inspired by Chinese originals, even though he received special recognition as a Japanese artist. This chapter also attempts to understand which artistic qualifications were required to be granted this title, and to assess what types of works the Imperial Household favoured. In addition, the latter half of this chapter examines how imperial patronage worked in practice in the case of

⁶¹⁷ Fukuzawa Yukichi was a leading writer and a political thinker during the Meiji era. He was born as a samurai of Nakatsu domain. He travelled to the USA and Europe before the Meiji Restoration. After returning to Japan, he founded Keiō University in 1868. He published widely on Japanese politics and educational institutions.

⁶¹⁸ Kawase was a governmental official who worked for the encouragement of arts of the Meiji era. He was a samurai of Tanba Miyazu domain in 1841. After the Meiji Restoration, he served as a governor of several prefectures. In 1874, he became a governmental official for domestic and industrial affairs. Kawase worked for the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Agriculture and Commerce, but was suddenly purged from governmental posts in 1881. He then started to participate in arts administration. He was as a leading member of Ryūchikai and joined the founding body of the Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai.

Seifū Yohei III.

Establishment of the *Teishitsu Gigei'in*

In 1996, Takashina Shūji noted that the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in* was based on the urgent need to clearly establish Japan's cultural identity as it embarked on the goal of joining the circle of more advanced European countries. He pointed out two governmental policies: the encouragement of the development of industry, and the preservation of cultural assets.⁶¹⁹ Takashina's views were indebted to an earlier discussion by Takagi Hiroshi who concluded that Fukuzawa Yukichi was the advocator of the theory of consolidation between modern Imperial sovereignty and Japanese culture. Takagi showed how the conservation of Japanese historical heritage was used to establish a stable and authoritative identity for the Imperial Household. Takagi reached the conclusion that Kuki Ryūichi, the first Director of the Imperial Museum and a student of Fukuzawa, was responsible for further advocating Fukuzawa's policies.⁶²⁰ Referring to Takagi's theory, Takashina suggested that the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in* was most likely related to the views of Fukuzawa Yukichi.⁶²¹ Following these studies by Takagi and Takashina, this chapter begins with a re-examination of the political background in relation to the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in* through writings by three important figures in Meiji cultural administration: Kawase Hideji, Fukuzawa Yukichi, and Kuki Ryūichi.

In 1879, Kawase Hideji presented the earliest known proposal on Imperial support for artists. Kawase explained in an article, 'Teishitsu no hogo o motte chokusetsu ni bijutsu kōgei o shōrei suruno hitsuyō o ronzu' (A Discussion of the Importance of Direct Support by the Imperial Household for the Encouragement of Arts and Crafts) in *Kokka* issue No.3

⁶¹⁹ Takashina 1996, 7.

⁶²⁰ Takagi 1991.

⁶²¹ Takashina 1996, 7-8.

published in 1889. In this article, he noted that he once presented the same proposal to Treasurer Ōkuma Shigenobu (1838-1922) in March 1879, but the financial situation at the time did now allow the government to implement this policy.⁶²²

In the article, Kawase explains how Japanese arts were suffering from the loss of patronage caused by drastic social structure changes after the Meiji Restoration. The foreign market became the focus of these artists. Artists were compelled to manufacture salable objects, and no longer had opportunities to create objects according to traditional aesthetic criteria. It was believed that this tendency might soon lead to a significant decline in traditional Japanese art unless the government acted immediately. Kawase, thus, suggested that the Imperial Household should sponsor the establishment of a national factory of arts and crafts.

[The government] needs to establish a factory, which belongs to the Imperial Household Agency. [The factory] should not be used to support and promote ordinary workers nor ordinary artists. The factory should employ good and famous artists and order them to produce high quality works for the use of the Emperor or to give to the Kings of various countries. ... It would be an ideal if [the government] could promote the Emperor's kind consideration to help people's lives.⁶²³

Then, Kawase detailed six advantages in introducing such a factory and listed the examples of national factories in France, Russia and Brazil. He concluded that all Japanese artisans work together reach the height of perfection and the Imperial Household should act as a reason for their motivation.⁶²⁴

Fukuzawa Yukichi was one of the most influential thinkers of the time in various fields of Japanese political, diplomatic and cultural policy.⁶²⁵ Fukuzawa made a series of trips to Europe and North America between 1860 and 1862. There he saw royal authorities

⁶²² Kawase 1889, 3.

⁶²³ 「今宜クーノ工場ヲ設ケ之ヲ宮内省ニ属シ以テ平常工匠ヲ奨励スルノ所トナスニ如クハナカルヘシ而シテ方今有名ノ良工ヲ徴シテ之カ技手トナシ専ラ精巧卓異ノ物品ヲ製セシメ以テ供御ニ備ヘ若クハ各國ノ帝王政府ニ贈貽スルノ料に充テ（中略）天皇陛下民業ヲ重スルノ成徳ヲ宣揚セシメハ願フニ可ナラスヤ」（Kawase 1889, 3).

⁶²⁴ Kawase 1889, 3.

⁶²⁵ Fukuzawa published a large number of books and articles both in Japanese and English languages.

who strongly supported conserving indigenous cultural heritage in Western societies. In May 1882, Fukuzawa published an article 'Kōshitsuron' (A Discourse on the Imperial Household), insisting that the Imperial family should play a symbolic and authoritative role in the society, rather than merely putting emphasis on their administrative role in the government.

Today, the Tokugawa government and regional lords no longer exist. Therefore, if the Imperial Household, being the centre of the nation and the source of honour, can establish guidelines for decoration, provide annuities, allow individuals the honour of being admitted to his [the Emperor's] presence, or collect important products of old and new through observation of the current sentiment of the people and consideration for precedent, the nation would gather around a centre, the idea of glorious deeds would rise toward the source of honour, our declining arts would be restored and the chance to develop the arts would rise; peoples' attachment to the Imperial Household would deepen, and they would show even more respect for its dignity and holiness.⁶²⁶

Both discourses by Kawase and Fukuzawa explain the changes in society and the loss of patronage for arts as discussed in previous chapters.⁶²⁷ In addition, enhancing recognition of the Imperial presence was considered an important issue. After the 250-year rule by Tokugawa shogunate, people had lost any clear concept of how Emperor should be perceived. Fukuzawa suggested that supporting distinctive Japanese culture was an effective way to raise respect of the Imperial Household as the ruling power of their society. However, it was not possible to spare any funding for art under the severe financial problems at the time, as the both articles were published at the time of the Matsukata Deflation.⁶²⁸ Introduction of the *teishitsu gigei'in* system, therefore, had to be postponed until 1890.

In April 1888, Sano Tsunetami, Shimojō Masao and others made a proposal to the minister of the Imperial Household Agency to create an institution for supporting artists and

⁶²⁶ 「今日は既に幕府なし、又諸侯なし。是に於てか全國人心の中心榮譽の源泉なる帝室に於て、今の民情を視察し前年の例を斟酌して、或は勲章の法を設け、或は年金の恩賜を施し、或は其人に拝謁を許され、或は新古の名作物を蒐集せらるゝ等の事あらば、天下翕然として一中心に集り、榮譽の源泉に向て功名の心を生じ、我藝術を將さに衰へんとしたるに挽回して、更に發達の機を促すのみならず、人心の帝室を慕ふに一層の熱を増して、益其尊嚴神聖を仰ぐに至る可きなり。」 (Fukawa 1959a, 289).

⁶²⁷ See Chapter Two, 74-75.

⁶²⁸ See Chapter One, 55, footnote 151.

artisans. In June, seventeen artists were designated to *Kunaishō kōgei'in* (Artisan for the Imperial Household Agency). It was probably related to the improvement of the financial situation of the government and the completion of the Meiji Palace on 7 October 1888 (fig. 6-1). The government suddenly realised the need for dishes and furniture as well as many art works in order to fill huge spaces.

Details of *Kunaishō kōgei'in* are still unknown due to the unavailability of documentation, it was probably also related to the opinions of Kawase and Fukuzawa listed above. In response to this action, Fukuzawa Yukichi published 'Sonnōron' (Reverence for the Emperor), in the following October. Fukuzawa proposed:

The government takes charge of corporeal part of the people, and the Imperial Household rules the incorporeal feelings of the people. ... distinctive Japanese skills should be conserved and promoted even if appearing insignificant or trivial. As these matters are all related to the vicissitudes of Japan, helping by taking advantage of the authority of the Imperial Household will have an infinite effect.⁶²⁹

Here, Fukuzawa still insisted on the importance of support by the Emperor for Japan's distinctive culture after the announcement of *Kunaishō kōgei'in*. Fukuzawa perhaps considered the newly introduced system did not have direct authority from the Emperor. They remained as artisans belonging to a ministry. Soon after, Kawase Hideji also published 'A Discussion of Importance, in Direct Support of the Imperial Household for the Encouragement of Arts and Crafts' in art journal, *Kokka*.⁶³⁰

These views of Kawase and Fukuzawa place an emphasis on protecting traditional culture, which was in danger of extinction. Both of them mentioned that the Imperial Household was in real terms the ideal body financially able to support non-profitable activities. In order to encourage this idea, Fukuzawa detailed the annual budgets of several

⁶²⁹ 「政府は國民有形の部分に司どり、帝室は其無形の人心を支配するものなりと云ふて或は可ならんか。(中略)日本固有の技術は其一藝一能と雖も之を保存奨励せざる可らず。此種の事項は都て日本國の盛衰隆廢に關するものにして、其進歩を助るに帝室の餘光を以てする其功德は實に無邊なる可し。」(Fukuzawa 1959b, 26).

⁶³⁰ Kawase 1889.

foreign sovereignties to explain the shortage of the budget of the Japanese Imperial Household. In conclusion, he demanded an increased budget for the Imperial Household.⁶³¹ Through the examination of these articles, it appears that there were two of the main objectives for establishing of *teishitsu gigei'in*: (A) conservation of a distinctive Japanese art and culture; (B) revitalization of the authority of the Emperor through the Imperial Household by supporting nationally acknowledged artists.

The meeting of the selection committee of *teishitsu gigei'in* was held in February 1890. On 19 April 1890, Sano Tsunetami requested Minister of the Imperial Household Hijikata Hisamoto (1833-1918)⁶³² to provide funding for the encouragement of arts and crafts at NIE III. The purposes of the funding suggested were to lend talented artists money. With the support, they would create skilful works of art and the government could supervise the improvement of design. Hijikata did not agree, but granted twenty-thousand yen to purchase art works at the exhibition. Hijikata also demanded artists to present design plans prior to the exhibition.⁶³³ It is not known how the purchase fund was eventually used, but could have been used for the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in*.

On 11 October, eleven artists were summoned to the Imperial Household Agency.⁶³⁴ All of the artists responded, except for Hata Zōroku I, who had passed away a few days earlier. Takamura Kōun (1852-1934)⁶³⁵ recorded what happened on the day of the announcement:

⁶³¹ Fukuzawa 1959a, 289-292.

⁶³² Hijikata Hisamoto was a samurai of Tosa domain. He joined the activists of Chōshū domain and received recognition from Sanjō Sanetomi. After the Meiji Restoration, Hijikata worked for the new government. In 1885, he became the first Minister of Agriculture and Commerce; then Minister of Imperial Household. The system of *teishitsu gigei'in* was established when Hijikata was the Minister. During the Taishō era, Hijikata involved with the editing of *Meiji tennōki* (Annals of Emperor Meiji).

⁶³³ Kunaichō Rinji Teishitsu Henshūkyoku 1972, 534.

⁶³⁴ Tazaki Sōun (1815-98), Mori Kansai (1814-94), Kanō Natsuo, Shibata Zeshin (1807-91), Hashimoto Gahō (1835-1908), Takamura Kōun (1852-1934), Kanō Eitoku (1814-91), Morizumi Tsurana (1809-92), Ishikawa Mitsuaki (1852-1913), Date Yasuke and Hata Zōroku I

⁶³⁵ Takamura Kōun was trained as a Buddhist sculptor in Edo. After the Meiji Restoration, he introduced realism into works and revitalised the field. In 1890, Kōun began teaching sculpture at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō and was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in*. He is father of Takamura Kōtarō (1883-1956) and Takamura Toyochika (1890-1972).

I did not know any background of establishment of this system. It was a totally unexpected event not only to me but everybody who was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in* on the same day.⁶³⁶

One day, Kōun was summoned to a meeting. Two of his colleagues at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō, Hashimoto Gahō and Ishikawa Mitsuaki (1852-1913),⁶³⁷ were also summoned to the meeting, but none of them knew the reason. On 11 October, when he and the other artists were gathered, even Kanō Natsuo (1828-98)⁶³⁸, formerly appointed to *Kunaishō kōgei'in*, asked if Kōun knew anything. Artists were called one by one to a separate room. There, they were given an order of *teishitsu gigei'in* and told that an annuity of one hundred yen would be given.

However, even after the official announcement, nobody knew what they were expected to do. Kōun later asked a few people who had connections to the government such as Okakura Kakuzō, the President of Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō, Kuki Ryūichi, the Director of the the Imperial Museum, and Sano Tsunetami, the President of Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai (Japan Art Association). Their answers were all the same that there is not any particular role or responsibility. *Teishitsu gigei'in* is for the encouragement of art, and based on the kind will of the Emperor. The annuity was a reward for their years of service to the field of Japanese art.⁶³⁹ However, Kōun was told that:

We (Kuki, Sano, and Okakura) believe that you must carefully take heed of the benevolent will of the Emperor as a (*teishitsu*) *gigei'in*. That is to say, you must be even truer to your arts. At the same time, it goes without saying

⁶³⁶ 「新しい制度がどういう風に出来たかということは一向知りません。私のみならず、他の同時に技芸員を拜命した人々も皆不意であつたのであります。」(Takamura 1970, 270).

⁶³⁷ Ivory carver Ishikawa Mitsuaki was born in Edo as a son of wood sculptor. He studied netsuke carvings. In 1890, he became a lecturer at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō and was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in*.

⁶³⁸ Kanō Natsuo was born in Kyoto and studied metal curving under Okumura Shōhachi (dates unknown) and Ikeda Takatoshi (dates unknown). He also studied painting under Shijō School Painter Nakajima Raishō (1796-1871). Kanō moved to Edo in 1854 and became famous for the maker of sword fittings. After the Meiji Restoration, he worked for the Osaka Mint to produce coins. In 1878, he returned to Tokyo and produced variety of metal wares of which he won various prizes at exhibitions and competitions. He was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1890.

⁶³⁹ Takamura 1970, 273.

that you must also guide your successors with care and kindness.⁶⁴⁰

This description of the nomination day by Takamura Kōun reveals three elements. Firstly, the role of *teishitsu gigei'in* was not officially decided at the point of designation. It was still uncertain how the art industry would receive and react to the introduction of this system. Most of the selected artists were already well-established figures in their fields. From the selection, it seems the main factor of the first selection was to recognise years of services for senior masters. Secondly, the views of Sano, Kuki and Okakura were very similar to Fukuzawa's idea in 'Teishitsuron' and 'Sonnōron'. Their comments might suggest that they were perhaps aware of the views of Fukuzawa and Kawase. Thirdly, this is the first time, the purpose of the *teishitsu gigei'in* system (C), centralization of art and craft industry through Imperial patronage, was raised. Kōun mentioned at the end of the article:

I discussed with Ishikawa Mitsuaki that it was a truly strange thing to happen to us. It is possible for other old masters to receive a special favour, but we are not yet old men. Although we have tried our best so far, our experience is still shallow and we have not reached any special achievement in our fields.⁶⁴¹

It could be suggested that the nomination of Takamura Kōun and Ishikawa Mitsuaki might be treated as an experimental case to set up role models for artists. Members of *teishitsu gigei'in* from the second and third selection tended to be younger than the members from the first selection.

Higuchi suggested one prevailing view that conflicts between two groups of painters was behind the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in*.⁶⁴² The two groups were the new liberal

⁶⁴⁰ 「この高大な優渥な思召しに対しては充分に技芸員たるものは気をつけねばならぬことと思う。即ち美術及び美術工芸のことには一層忠実でなくてはならないこと、同時にまた後進子弟に対しては親切懇篤の心をもって指導することは申すまでもなし」(Takamura 1970, 273).

⁶⁴¹ 「私と石川光明氏とは互いに申し合わせたことには、実に今度の事は不思議なことであった。他の老齢の諸先生方がこの恩典に預かったことには在り得べきことと思われるが、われわれはまだ老人というわけでもなく、また、今日まで多少美術のことに力を尽して来たというものの、まだ歳月も浅し、経験も浅く、功績というほどのことを残したと思うほどのこともない。」(Takamura 1970, 273-274).

⁶⁴² Higuchi 1968.

group of artists, who were led by Okakura Kakuzō and Ernest Francisco Fenollosa at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō and the more conservative artist group of Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai, led by Sano Tsunetami.⁶⁴³ Higuchi pointed out that painters selected as *teishitsu gigei'in* by 1910 were mainly from the latter group, while painters of the former group were employed exclusively as professors at Tokyo Bijutsu Gakkō. Higuchi concluded that the main purpose of the foundation of the system was to balance the power between the new and the old school of painters. This theory has dominated the discussion about the main reason for the establishment of the system.⁶⁴⁴

Ōkuma questioned this theory in an article published in 1996, and pointed out that emphasis on the conflict between the two groups of painters has caused ignorance of non-painter *teishitsu gigei'in*. Ōkuma said that non-painter artists from earlier selections were often winners of national exhibitions. Unlike the faces of well-established and rather old painters, selected members of the other genres were considered the frontrunners at the time.⁶⁴⁵ The case of Seifū Yohei III falls into the latter category. This section of the thesis examines the background of the selection process of Seifū Yohei III as the first potter *teishitsu gigei'in*.

Three years after the first selection, the second selection of *teishitsu gigei'in* was announced in September 1893. The recommendation was discussed at a meeting on 20 July 1893. Sano Tsunetami submitted a letter with a list of recommended artists to Kuki Ryūichi with summaries of four artists, Noguchi Yūkoku (1825-1898)⁶⁴⁶, Taki Katei (1832-1901)⁶⁴⁷,

⁶⁴³ In order to conserve and encourage Japanese arts and cultures, Sano Tsunetami, Kuki Ryūichi, Kawase Hideji and others founded Ryūchikai in 1879. They had meetings in Ueno to discuss antique objects and contemporary art. In 1887, the Society was renamed Japan Art Association and Prince Arisugawa became the president. The society was given a piece of land in Ueno Park by the Imperial Household Agency to build a centre and was actively involved in Japanese cultural administrations.

⁶⁴⁴ Ōkuma 1996, 10.

⁶⁴⁵ Ōkuma 1996, 11-12.

⁶⁴⁶ Noguchi Yūkoku was born in Edo and studied bird-and-flower painting under Tsubaki Chinzan. After winning various prizes, Noguchi was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893.

⁶⁴⁷ Taki Katei was born in Edo and studied painting in Nagasaki. Taki Katei studied under Tetsuō and was acquainted with Chen Yizhou. Katei's paintings were exhibited at Vienna and Chicago international expositions. He won numerous awards in domestic art exhibitions and competitions and

Kōno Bairei and Seifū Yohei III. On 26 September 1893, Kuki summoned the four artists to announce their designation as *teishitsu gigei'in*. In an article in *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi*, it was explained that the second selection was held to supplement the loss of four artists.⁶⁴⁸ According to Higuchi, the Tokyo National Museum holds the minutes of selection meetings. Unfortunately, the minute of the meeting for the second selection is missing, and the actual reason for Seifū Yohei III's designation is not known.⁶⁴⁹

Seifū Yohei III became *teishitsu gigei'in*, aged forty-two. He was one of the youngest artists ever appointed. The full reasons for his designation are not known, but were most likely due to his success at the NIE III in 1890.⁶⁵⁰ At the first committee meeting of *teishitsu gigei'in*, it was agreed that the issue of additional members was discussed according to the result of the national exhibition in 1893.⁶⁵¹ Although it was not publicly announced, the exhibition was an unofficial competition for the next selection for the title and Seifū Yohei III won the top prize in the ceramic field.

The Third National Industrial Exhibition

If Seifū Yohei III's success at NIE III contributed to his designation as a *teishitsu gigei'in*, it is important to examine why his work at the exhibition was highly regarded by judges. The judges could have been informed that the winner would possibly be designated to the title. If so, they must have considered carefully who should be selected among the hundreds of participants and what kind of work would be appropriate to become the first 'Imperial' ceramics. In order to analyse which aspects of these artists were important, the

was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893.

⁶⁴⁸ The four artists are Date Yasuke, Shibata Zeshin, Kanō Eitoku, Morizumi Tsurana (*Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai* 1893a, 27).

⁶⁴⁹ Higuchi 1968, 29.

⁶⁵⁰ A set of two volumes of minutes of the selection meeting of *teishitsu gigei'in* are kept in the Tokyo National Museum. Unfortunately, the author was unable to access them.

⁶⁵¹ Higuchi 1968, 29.

examination reports of the ceramic category at the exhibition need to be taken into consideration.

Six potters in the report received detailed criticism. These potters are Seifū Yohei III (1851-1914), Miyagawa Kōzan I, Takemoto Hayata (1848-92), Katō Tomotarō (1851-1916), Chin Jukan XII (1835-1906) and Tsuji Katsuzō. They were all nationally recognised potters during the 1880s to 1890s. At NIE III, they all received either *Myōgi ittōshō* (First Prize of Technical Excellence) or *myōgi nitōshō* (Second Prize of Technical Excellence). An examination of the six potters and the assessment report reveals a variety of styles. It will prove that *hin'i* (gracefulness) and *hinkaku* (appearance with gracefulness) were the most important factors in the judgement. At the same time, originality was also an important factor as well as technical maturity, design and scholarship. Firstly, this chapter introduces biographical information on the individual potters where needed. Secondly, the report on the judgement of the exposition is examined to see how the works by these six potters were judged. It tries to reveal what aspects were considered important in the competition.

Seifū Yohei III received *Myōgi ittōshō* (First Prize of Technical Excellence) at NIE III in Tokyo. He was the only potter to receive this highest prize. Seifū Yohei III won *Myōgi ittōshō* for *Uoe bachi* (Bowl with fish design).⁶⁵² The report states:

The bowl is brightly white and its shape is particularly temperate and elegant. The placement of the fish pattern is excellent and the eyes of the fish are painted with vitality. The purity of the purple glaze is excellent such that it cannot compare with any other pieces in the exhibition. Although there are occasional pieces using the same colour [by other artists], these are often superficial, faint and cannot live up [to the glaze by Yohei III]. Such work is not possible without reaching a level of technical perfection that ten times out of ten would be successful. Although [the bowl] does not have new features that interest *shin'ijin* (people who like new things), it possesses *hinkaku* (appearance with gracefulness) in being pure and complete. He is quite outstanding compared to other makers. This is the

⁶⁵² From the description of the bowl, it might possibly be similar to a vase with fish in water in blue and purple glazes (fig. 6-2).

reason to give him the highest prize. His work proves that once skills are matured, the shape correctly forms by itself, kiln temperature never exceeds the limit and glaze matches body...Because of this [technical maturity], Seifū succeeds in creating various pieces with *hin'i* (gracefulness). Therefore, people should not want *hin'i* only from the design and scholarship. Technical maturity is indispensable.⁶⁵³

Miyagawa Kōzan I (1842-1916) was one of two participants whose name appears in the top six at both NIE II and III. There have been a number of studies on the potter, which regarded him as the best, and the most respected potter during the Meiji era.⁶⁵⁴ In 1842 (Tenpō 13), Miyagawa Kōzan I was born in Makuzubara, Kyoto, as the fourth son of Makuzu Chōzō (1797-1868).⁶⁵⁵ Kōzan I learned painting under Taigadō Giryō (dates unknown).⁶⁵⁶ He took over the ceramic business in 1860 (Man'en 1) and moved to the Ota district in Yokohama in 1870 upon the request of merchants from the Satsuma domain. After 1873, Miyagawa Kōzan I won a number of prizes at international expositions. He was famous for vases and jars with miniature decoration and sculpted figures in the 1870's and 80's. *Stoneware basin with a crab* in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum is one of the best examples of his wares from this period (fig. 6-3). The naturalistic appearance of figures was the trademark. After his son Miyagawa Hannosuke (1859-1940) took over the headship of the family in 1888, Kōzan I began working intensively on porcelain in the style of Qing porcelain.⁶⁵⁷ He was particularly interested in underglaze polychrome decoration

⁶⁵³ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 155-156 (Appendix 6-1).

⁶⁵⁴ In Japan, there were two exhibitions on Miyagawa Kōzan I in 1886 and 1889 (Yomiuri Shinbun c.1896. Yokohama-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 1989). Nikaidō Mutsuru, curator at Yokohama Bijutsukan, organised an exhibition on Miyagawa Kōzan I and published an exhibition catalogue and a monograph in 2001 (Yokohama Bijutsukan 2001. Nikaidō 2001). A book on the Tanabe Collection, the largest collection of Kōzan I in Japan, was published in 2004 (Tanabe 2004). Outside Japan, Emerson-Dell edited an exhibition catalogue on Miyagawa Kōzan I at the Walters Art Museum, Baltimore in 1994 (Emerson-Dell 1994), but the most remarkable research was done by Clare Pollard for her unpublished PhD dissertation (Pollard 1996), followed by a number of articles and a monograph on the potter in 2002 (Pollard 2002).

⁶⁵⁵ Makuzu Chōzō was a student of Moku Bei (1767-1833). He built a kiln in Makuzu bara (Makuzu field) and founded Makuzu-yaki kiln.

⁶⁵⁶ Taigadō is the third generation of literati painter Ike no Taiga (not blood related).

⁶⁵⁷ Nikaidō 2001, 68-70. Pollard 2002.

and with *yōhen* or transmutation and crystalline glazes.⁶⁵⁸

Miyagawa Kōzan I won the *Myōgi nitōshō* (Second Prize of Technical Excellence)

for his *Ruriiro kabin* (Azure-colour Vase). The assessment report records:

In the past, Miyagawa Kōzan received a high reputation for special types of wares with figures of humans, insects and animals. However, recently he has tried to change this reputation, and frequently created wares with *yōhen* glaze. In the end, he decided to leave behind a minor technique showing only playfulness, and moved to a style that is more refined. His work still shows the variation of his skills... Among his works, the vase with sky blue glaze is the most refined. In addition, a work with incised patterns of *banryū* (crouching dragon) and *Seigaiha* (wave pattern) on the body is exceptionally well designed.⁶⁵⁹ The skill is also exceptional. He often shows skilful techniques. However, the material is not adequately chosen. It is perhaps caused by the insufficient kiln structure that unevenness occasionally appears on the surface of the porcelain. The form of pieces is sometimes immature. If he is aware of these points, his works should display more beauty successfully.⁶⁶⁰

Takemoto Hayata (1848-92) used to be considered one of the three best potters of the era, referred to as *fuyu no sanyū* or the three friends of winter; Takemoto Hayata as pine tree, Miyagawa Kōzan I as bamboo, and Seifū Yohei III as plum tree. Takemoto Hayata was born on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, 1848 (Kaei 1) in Edo as the first son of Takemoto Yōsai (b. 1832) of a *hatamoto* (direct retainer of the shogun). In 1863 (Bunkyū 3), he was given a minor position to work in Edo castle because of his skill in spearmanship. In 1865 (Keiō 1), he participated in the tour of Tokugawa Iemochi (1846-66)⁶⁶¹ to subdue the Chōshū domain and then was promoted to *nakaoku okoshō* (a page for the Shogun in his

⁶⁵⁸ Transmutation glaze is a term used to describe the appearance of glaze that unexpectedly appeared after firing. Crystalline glazes are glazes which contain crystals within the amorphous matrix of the glaze. The crystals give opacity, colour and surface texture as smooth and rough mattes. The crystals grow during cooling by isolation of the essential oxides from the surrounding fluid glaze. The process is known as devitrification and is encouraged by holding the kiln temperature at around 800 degrees (Hamer 1986, 95).

⁶⁵⁹ An incense burner in the Khalili Collection has similar designs (fig. 6-4).

⁶⁶⁰ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 159 (Appendix 6-1).

⁶⁶¹ The fourteenth shogun of the Tokugawa shogunate. Iemochi was a son of Tokugawa Nariyori (1801-46), the Lord of the Kii Tokugawa family. He became shogun in 1846 and married Kazu no miya Chikako naishinnō (Princess Kazu, the eighth princess of Emperor Ninkō) (1846-77) in 1862 in order to stabilise the nation by unification of the Imperial family and the Tokugawa family. In 1865, Iemochi took his army to Kyoto in order to subdue Chōshū domain, but died inside Osaka castle.

residence). After the death of Shogun Iemochi in the sixth month, 1866 (Keiō 2), Takemoto returned to Edo. However, at the Meiji Restoration, both his father Takemoto Yōsai, who was a high-ranking retainer of the Tokugawa government, and Hayata lost their jobs and privileges. They moved to Takada-mura in Tokyo, built a kiln, and started to produce ceramics.⁶⁶² The Takemoto family is one of many examples of how the life of retainers of the Tokugawa Shogunate changed after the Meiji Restoration.

Having received advice from Inoue Ryōsai I, a well-known potter from Seto, Takemoto Yōsai and Hayata started to operate a ceramic factory called Gansuien in 1868. They started to produce ceramics in the style of Satsuma ware for the export market. However, business was not as smooth as they expected. Gansuien had to be closed in 1873 after a fire burnt the factory.⁶⁶³ In the same year, Takemoto Hayata re-established Gansuien and began firing both stoneware and porcelain in a French-style dome kiln and introduced the slip-casting technique for the first time in Japan. In 1874, he published *Jiki seizō zasshi* (Instruction of Porcelain Production).⁶⁶⁴ It explains the techniques and processes of porcelain production. In 1877, he won a prize at the NIE I in Tokyo with his Satsuma *kinrande*-style incense burner. He continued to record successes at international and domestic exhibitions and won the second prize at NIE III.

Takemoto Hayata was also a famous scholar and critic in the field of ceramics. His name is listed as a judge of the ceramic section for a number of important exhibitions including ones in which he participated. All his ceramics were formed in plaster moulds. He was famous for this technique and also for his extensive knowledge of *yōhen* (transmutation and crystalline) glazes such as the vase with *shinsha* (red) glaze in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum after the manner of Late Qing *sang de boeuf* (fig. 6-5).

Hinka seihiyō gata kabin (Young gourd-shaped vase with apple glaze) and *Taihi-yū*

⁶⁶² Kitatoshima-gun, Takada-mura, present-day Mejiro in Toshima-ku, Tokyo.

⁶⁶³ See Yokoyama 1997 for a detailed biography of the Takemoto family.

⁶⁶⁴ The only existing copy is in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum (Yokoyama 1998).

rōkamon kabin (Brown vase with plum blossom) by Takemoto Hayata won *Myōgi nitōshō* (Second Prize of Technical Excellence) at the NIE III. The prize for the former piece was, however, given to Namikawa Sōsuke (1847-1910)⁶⁶⁵ who entered the vase as a product of his company. The report describes the reasons for the award:

In contrast to the works of Miyagawa (Kōzan I), the works of Takemoto Hayata from Tokyo are distinctive for *kikan* (peculiar appearance). Both works have characteristic *shun'i* (good unconventionality), so these won the second prize. As he uses slip casting and does not use a potter's wheel, the forms of his works sometimes lack the feeling of softness. If he were to create pieces on a wheel and become proficient, the *hin'i* (gracefulness) should increase.⁶⁶⁶

Katō Tomotarō (1851-1916) was born the second son of ceramic manufacturer Katō Yohachi (dates unknown) in Seto. As the ceramic industry of Seto was in a recession, he moved to Tokyo in 1874. He apprenticed himself to potter Inoue Ryōsai I as well as Takemoto Yōsai, father of Takemoto Hayata, but soon left the workshop because Inoue only produced Raku style wares. Katō soon entered Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo as a trainee. In 1877, Katō moved to Edogawa Seitōjo and became a manager in 1879. In 1882, Katō built a factory in Ushigome-ku in Tokyo and became independent. He was one of the first students of Gottfried Wagener.⁶⁶⁷

Katō is famous for his pioneering work on underglaze polychrome glazing techniques. Although Wagener earlier argued that underglaze yellow and orange were impossible to achieve, Katō succeeded in firing underglaze purple in 1890, yellow in 1893, orange in 1899 and black by 1907.⁶⁶⁸ A vase with polychrome underglaze decoration of

⁶⁶⁵ Namikawa Sōsuke was born in Chiba Namikawa. He realised the potential of Japanese ceramics and cloisonné when he saw NIE I in Tokyo. In 1878, Namikawa opened a ceramic wholesale store in Nihonbashi. In 1879, he succeeded in creating wireless cloisonné. In 1895, Namikawa was appointed to a position of *teishitsu gigei'in* in cloisonné.

⁶⁶⁶ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 160 (Appendix 6-1).

⁶⁶⁷ Shioda 1980, 134-135. The role of Gottfried Wagener in the ceramic industry of the Meiji era is discussed in Chapter Two.

⁶⁶⁸ Hattori 2007, 53-54. The orange glaze titled as *Tōju-kō* (Red of Katō Tomotarō) became the signature glaze for his later works. Underglaze polychrome techniques were attempted by potters all

crow and persimmons in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum shows such colouring techniques (fig. 6-6).

Katō Tomotarō won the second prize at NIE III for his *Kikusuimon kabin* (Vase with chrysanthemum floating in water pattern). It is an interesting point that this report on Katō mostly discusses his connection with Kawahara, Nōtomi and Wagener, judging his works. The report states:

The body of *Kikusuimon kabin* is pure and elegant, and its flower pattern is refined. The artist is originally a potter from Seto. Kangyōryō Shikenjō employed him in the past. He learned ceramics under Nōtomi Kaijirō and Kawahara Chūjirō. He later became the manager of the Edogawa Seitōjo. After Seitōjo was closed, he became independent and created these works for this exposition. He had a long-time relationship with Nōtomi Kaijirō and learned designs from him. He asked Dr. [Gottfried] Wagener for instruction in glazing techniques. Therefore, his works have distinctive characteristics.⁶⁶⁹

Chin Jukan XII (1835-1906) won the second prize at the NIE III. The Chin (K. Shim) family was among a group of Korean ceramic specialists brought to the Satsuma domain by Shimazu Yoshihiro (1535-1619)⁶⁷⁰ during the Japanese invasion to Korea in the Bunroku and Keichō era (1592-98).⁶⁷¹ Heads of the Chin family successively called themselves Jukan.⁶⁷² Chin Jukan XII is known as the best potter among fifteen generations of the family. In 1857 (Ansei 4), Shimazu Nariakira (1809-58)⁶⁷³ founded Tōjiki Seizōsho

over Japan at the time. Various glazes were developed, but were rarely shared even among fellow potters in the same area. Katō was certainly famous for his underglaze techniques, but many of these underglaze polychrome glazes could have been invented earlier.

⁶⁶⁹ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 160 (Appendix 6-1).

⁶⁷⁰ Shimazu joined the Japanese invasion to Korea during the Bunroku and Keichō era (1592-98) and distinguished himself on the field of battle. He brought some Korean potters back on his return to Japan.

⁶⁷¹ The invasion of the Bunroku and Keichō eras was a military confrontation from 1592 to 1598 on the Korean peninsula. Japanese troops invaded Korea in 1592. Japan reinvaded in 1597 during a truce. In both campaigns, the Japanese invasions were defeated by the allied forces of Korea and China. On the return to Japan, many Korean potters were kidnapped and brought to Japan. They played an important role in developing the ceramic industry in many areas of Japan.

⁶⁷² The current head of the family is Chin Jukan XV (b. 1959).

⁶⁷³ Shimazu Nariakira is the eleventh lord of Satsuma domain and the twenty-eighth head of the Shimazu family. He is the oldest son of the tenth lord Shimazu Narioki (1791-1859). Nariakira considered having a strong army as a first priority and introduced a number of western technologies

Shibu (Ceramic Factory Office) in Naeshirogawa. Jukan XII was appointed as the director of porcelain. The family lost support from the Satsuma domain when the domain was dissolved in 1871. Soon after, Naeshirogawa Tōki Gaisha (Naeshirogawa Ceramic Company) was established, and Jukan XII was hired as factory manager and was responsible for production. In 1873, he participated in the Vienna International Fair in Austria with a pair of vases in the Satsuma *kinrande*-style, stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold, and it was very well received. He encouraged the export of Satsuma ware, but the company was dissolved in 1874. In 1875, he established a ceramic company, and called himself *Gyokukōzan* (Jade Light Mountain). He opened branches in Tokyo, Yokohama, Kobe and Nagasaki in order to expand the business.

Chin Jukan XII won *Myōgi nitōshō* (Second Prize of Technical Excellence) at NIE III for his *Mushikagoshiki kashiki* (Insect-cage-shaped sweets container).⁶⁷⁴ The assessment report states that:

From the past, Satsuma kiln in Kagoshima prefecture was famous for art potters. However, their products have become rougher because of overproduction. Chin Jukan is the only potter who did not follow this trend. Working together with Boku Rikō, he independently tries to recover the status of the Satsuma kiln. Traditionally, Satsuma stoneware has a glaze with ice-shaped crackles and is moderately decorated with elegant patterns. Its refinement can only be represented by displaying the glaze. Many large works have recently been made, but their exquisite workmanship cannot live up to pieces of smaller scale.⁶⁷⁵ ... [Chin Jukan] successfully manages to carve a woven bamboo pattern and exquisitely applied gold flower crest on *Mushikagoshiki kashiki*. It is especially beautiful, and this is the reason for receiving the second prize.⁶⁷⁶

Seiji Gaisha won the highest prize in the ceramic field at NIE II in 1881 and the

into the domain.

⁶⁷⁴ An incense burner with openwork decoration by Chin Jukan XIII may be similar to the prize-winning piece (fig. 6-7).

⁶⁷⁵ A pair of vases with flowers and plants (1892) in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum is an example of a large piece by Chin Jukan XII: (fig. 6-8).

⁶⁷⁶ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 159 (Appendix 6-1). Boku Rikō (dates unknown) was a potter in the Satsuma Naeshirogawa kiln. He was a descendent of Korean potters brought during the Japanese invasion to Korea during Bunroku and Keichō era (1596-1615).

second prize at the NIE III. Tsuji Katsuzō was one of the founding members of the company and was the eleventh head of a renowned ceramic family in Arita. In 1706 (Hōei 3), the Emperor bestowed on Tsuji Kiemon (the Fourth head of the Tsuji family) the title of *Hitachi daijō* (retainer under the immediate control of the Imperial family) a rank as high as *daimyō*. Since then, the family produced porcelain wares for the Imperial Household. The title was passed down among successive heads of the Tsuji family until 1871 just after the demolition of the domainal system. Tsuji Katsuzō resigned from the title and tried to pursue new directions.

Tsuji founded a ceramic company, Kōransha, with three others in 1875. Tsuji introduced his most important client, the Imperial Household Agency, to the company. The company became the official tableware supplier for the Imperial Household. A pair of vases with chrysanthemums in a private collection has 'Hizen Tsuji-sei' (made by Tsuji of Hizen) inside of the footring, which suggests that Tsuji was in charge of production (fig. 6-9). This pair of vases with gold chrysanthemums was exhibited at the Philadelphia Centennial Exhibition in 1876.

Even though Kōransha became one of the largest porcelain exporters in Japan after the company's success in Philadelphia, the company was divided into two due to a disagreement about management policy. Many important members of Kōransha including Tsuji Katsuzō left the company and established Seiji Gaisha in 1879. The privilege to produce tableware for the Imperial Household Agency was then moved from Kōransha to Seiji Gaisha. In 1887, a large ceramic casting machine brought from Limoges in France was installed into the factory. However, two of the important founding members passed away successively (Fukaumi Suminosuke in 1886 and Kawahara Chūjirō in 1888).⁶⁷⁷ Due to the recession in the domestic market and problems with using the newly installed machinery

⁶⁷⁷ Ceramic industrialist Fukaumi Suminosuke (1845-86) was one of founders of Kōransha, established in 1875. He visited the Philadelphia International Exposition in 1876 and established Seiji Gaisha in 1879 with Tsuji Katsuzō.

efficiently, the company was dissolved when Tsuji Katsuzō resigned from the company in 1889, a year before the first designation of *teishitsu gigei'in*.⁶⁷⁸

The name of Tsuji Katsuzō appeared on the list of sixteen artists for the first nomination of *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1890.⁶⁷⁹ At the meeting of the committee held in February 1890, eleven artists were chosen and five artists including Tsuji were rejected.⁶⁸⁰ Among the rejected, three artists were later recommended again and became *teishitsu gigei'in*. Tsuji Katsuzō was thus one of only two artists who were not appointed among the sixteen artists originally recommended by the committee of *teishitsu gigei'in* probably due to the failure of his new company, Seiji Gaisha.

Although it was after Tsuji's departure from Seiji Gaisha, the company won *Myōgi nitōshō* second prize at the NIE III for *Botan ranji kōro* (Blue Incense Burner with Peony).

The report states:

The Arita kiln in Saga prefecture has enjoyed a reputation as the best production centre of Japanese ceramics for a long time. They have received the best prizes from exhibitions in the past. In this exhibition, they failed to win the first prize. We have to point out that the quality of their works has mostly declined from the last exhibition (NIE II). However, we are surprised to observe exhibits by Seiji Gaisha that display splendid craftsmanship... The colour of the set of incense burners, for example, is so vivid and fresh that competitive examples cannot be found anywhere else. Among the set [of incense burners], the dark blue incense burner is especially elegant. The body is crisp and clean, and very finely executed. The fineness of the relief technique used for the peony design is of a sort that cannot be created by ordinary craftsmen.⁶⁸¹

Examination of the Reports

The information above displays the varied backgrounds of the six leading Japanese

⁶⁷⁸ Nakajima 1936, 611.

⁶⁷⁹ Higuchi 1968, 29-30.

⁶⁸⁰ Rejected five artists were Namikawa Yasuyuki (1845-1927: cloisonné artist), Suzuki Chōkichi (metal work), Shirayama Fukumatsu (Shōsai) (lacquer), Nishimura Sōichi (wooden inlay works) and Tsuji Katsuzō. Namikawa, Suzuki and Shirayama were later designated as *teishitsu gigei'in*.

⁶⁸¹ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 156-157 (Appendix 6-1).

potters in the 1880s to 1890s. The criticisms in the report reveal the aesthetic and technical standards shared by potters and ceramic manufacturers. It seems that technical maturity was important, as well as originality and ingenuity, but the most important factor appears to be something described with the Japanese words: *hin'i* and *hinkaku*.

A: Technical Aspects

The report consistently describes the perfection of skill and the level of difficulty of each work. The colour of Seifū Yohei III's glaze is appreciated with the words, 'it is not possible without reaching a level of technical perfection that ten times out of ten would be successful.' The best quality of the incense burner by Seiji Gaisha was its colour of glaze, purity of body and skill involved in the relief decoration of the peony. Seiji Gaisha is a rather extreme example of comments focusing only on technical aspects. Miyagawa Kōzan I was criticised for a lack of technical excellence as his vase was described, 'It is perhaps caused by the insufficient kiln structure that unevenness occasionally appears on the surface of the porcelain. The form of pieces is sometimes immature.' This criticism seems rather harsh toward one of the leading potters and ceramic manufacturers of the period. It proves that the importance of the level of technical excellence was one of the main factors of judgement of this exhibition.

B: Originality

Originality of ceramics of the Meiji era has not been largely discussed, but it seems to have been an important element for judgement. The only criticism given to Seifū Yohei III was the lack of 'new features that interest *shin'ijin* (people who like new things)'. These 'features' appear to be connected to the notion of originality. Among the potters, Takemoto

Hayata is perhaps the most famous for his originality. Words such as *kikan* (peculiar appearance) and *shun'i* (good unconventionality) reflect the quality of Takemoto's works although he did not receive any comments on his technical excellence. The report describes the results of his new experiments including his use of slip casting technique. Takemoto Hayata was one of the first potters to use this imported technique from France successfully. However, the report criticises that 'his works sometimes lack the feeling of softness' because of this technique. It explains that new features were appreciated only when it does not affect *hin'i* and *hinkaku* of the work.

Katō Tomotarō is also praised for his originality, but slightly differently from Takemoto. The report states that his works have distinctive characteristics, whereas the characteristics of Katō's works are based on his background. He was a student of Nōtomi Kaijirō and Gottfried Wagener who both actively introduced European kiln and glazing techniques to Japan. Because this was an industrial exhibition, such newly introduced techniques were highly regarded. Thus, it is perhaps more correct to say that the characteristic of Katō's work is ingenuity rather than originality. Takemoto Hayata and Katō Tomotarō won their acclaim by introducing new designs and techniques. This was considered one of the important elements at the time. On the other hand, the report implies that originality was not the most important element.

Miyagawa Kōzan I took a completely different approach to these two potters. As the report comments, 'In the past, Miyagawa Kōzan achieved a high reputation by creating special types of works with models of people, insects and animals. However, recently he has tried to change this reputation, and frequently created works with *yōhen* glaze.' Miyagawa Kōzan I here did not work in his original style, but created works in a traditional Chinese-style. Due to this sudden and drastic transformation of his style, his works were criticised for a lack of technical perfection. However, the report gave him a positive review for his decision. The report reads: '[Kōzan] decided to leave behind the minor technique

showing only playfulness, and moved to a more refined style.’ Pollard has explained that such Chinese-style Japanese ceramics became noticeable around 1900 and were related to the fashion in ceramics in the European market.⁶⁸² It is very likely that Miyagawa Kōzan I knew the growing popularity of Chinese porcelain in the West and the increase in the Chinese market too. Yet, these do not fully answer why he needed to enter imperfect work for the national exhibition. If Miyagawa Kōzan I had known that the result of the exposition would strongly affect the selection of the next *teishitsu gigei'in*, he might have changed his style to suit the tastes of the Imperial Household. This taste of the Imperial Household is closely connected with the last aspects of the judgement, the aesthetics of *hin'i* and *hinkaku*.

C: *Hin'i* and *Hinkaku*

Seifū Yohei III received the highest prize at the exhibition. The characteristics that distinguished Yohei III from the other five potters were *hin'i* and *hinkaku*. Both words contain the character *hin*, which signifies ‘grace’ or ‘refinement’ and is often used to describe a person. Hence, the meaning of *hin'i* can be translated as ‘refinement’ and *hinkaku* as ‘appearance with refinement.’ The words *hin'i* and *hinkaku* appear several times in the report. In particular, in the comments on Seifū Yohei III’s work, one third of the space is devoted to an explanation of *hin'i*. It describes that works by Seifū Yohei III always display *hin'i* and it is only realised by maturing skills in making ceramics. The report also says, ‘Seifū succeeds in creating various pieces with *hin'i*. Therefore, people should not want *hin'i* only from the design and scholarship. Technical maturity is indispensable.’ This line perhaps explains that design, knowledge and technical maturity are necessary in order to incorporate *hin'i* into ceramic works. Hence, we might be able to say that *hin'i* can be achieved by having these three factors in perfect balance. If we examine the reports from this perspective, Tsuji

⁶⁸² Pollard 1995, 51.

Katsuzō and Chin Jukan XII have perfect technical maturity, but lack quality of design and scholarship; works by Takemoto Hayata and Katō Tomotarō are full of originality and ingenuity, but are weak in design and technical maturity; and Miyagawa Kōzan I needed to improve technical maturity. Hence, the report clearly displays that works by Seifū Yohei III hold this ideal balance of all the elements required.

The reports on works by the six leading potters at NIE III show diverse styles and techniques. This exhibition was important as a turning point for the Japanese ceramic industry. It was the time when Japanese export ceramics to the West were in decline. The exhibit seemingly reflects a feeling of unease after the recession of the export industry in the early 1880s. We can see suggestions for moving away from the traditional styles of export wares such as *kinrande* ware. The focus of the judgement process was whether ceramics were required to consist of four important elements: technical maturity, design, scholarship and ingenuity or originality. In addition, it was considered necessary to have *hin'i* and *hinkaku*. It is not known whether the Imperial Household had any control over the judging process or not, but *hin'i* or *hinkaku* were certainly required characteristics for wares used by members of the Imperial family.

Official Taste of Imperial Japan

From the observation of the examination report of NIE III, artists were required to create works embodying three elements, technical maturity, originality and *hin'i*, in order to become *teishitsu gigei'in*. However, the official taste of Imperial Japan is still difficult to discern. We only have a list of objects purchased by the Imperial Household Agency or chosen by a member of Imperial family for purchase. Unfortunately, there is no physical evidence that suggests Emperor Meiji's active involvement in the selection of *teishitsu gigei'in*. The closest connection was that officials of the Imperial Household Agency

participated in the selection meetings. This evidence is insufficient to suggest that they chose works fit for Emperor Meiji's taste. However, Ōkuma Toshiyuki, former curator at the Museum of the Imperial Collection, expressed his view on the issue in the exhibition catalogue entitled *Meiji no kyūchū dezain: Wa chū yō no yūwa o motomete* (*The Imperial Court Design – Searching for harmony between the Japanese, Chinese and Western styles*), published in 2003.

Objects cherished by Emperor Meiji in the collection of the Museum [of the Imperial Collection] include three-dimensional objects, which the History of Japanese arts and crafts have rarely considered as research materials. Natural objects such as *lingzhi* [J. *reishi*] and coral, curved works of agate, represent the collections and a multi-leaf album of three-dimensional painting of stories from Chinese Classics, which is made with coloured curved ivory parts attached onto twill-weaved fabric. These objects remind me of Chinese taste, or more precisely, Japanese literati taste, which was popular among intellectuals during the late Edo and Meiji period... I would be allowed to say that the popularity of Japanese literati reached to the Imperial Household of Modern Japan.⁶⁸³

This exhibition displayed a number of Chinese objects from the Qing dynasty, which used to be in the private holdings of Emperor Meiji. Ōkuma did not conclude his discussion by saying that Emperor Meiji was a Japanese literati as we do not know whether Emperor chose even his personal objects or not. There is a possibility that the collection was assembled for the Emperor. However, the strong presence of Qing taste in the collection of Emperor Meiji was undeniable.⁶⁸⁴

The most notable characteristic of Seifū Yohei III, namely Qing-style, reinforces the connection between Emperor Meiji and Imperial China including Qing taste. Evidence explaining Seifū Yohei III's designation to *teishitsu gigei'in* and the style change of Miyagawa Kōzan I to Qing-style porcelain at NIE III remains circumstantial. However, perhaps the official taste directed the style of Japanese ceramics to the Qing-style toward the

⁶⁸³ Ōkuma 2002, 70.

⁶⁸⁴ In this article, Ōkuma suggested that room decoration of the period in China, Japan and Britain was often constructed with multi-national objects in order to create a space with strong hybridity (Okuma 2002, 65).

end of 1880s.

When the selection of the first potter *teishitsu gigei'in* was discussed in 1892, three out of the six potters discussed above were no longer candidates. By then, Tsuji Katsuzō had left Seiji Gaisha. He became an independent potter and disappeared from national level competitions. Takemoto Hayata passed away in 1892, just before the selection. Chin Jukan XII was most likely unable to be considered due to his nationality.⁶⁸⁵ Therefore, there were only three candidates, Seifū Yohei III, Miyagawa Kōzan I and Katō Tomotarō. Among them, Seifū Yohei III was probably the strongest candidate because of the result of the earlier exhibition. His friendship with Kuki Ryūichi could also have helped the selection.

In addition, the government could have regarded another factor important. Four additional *teishitsu gigei'in* were announced in 1893. Among them, Seifū Yohei III and Kōno Bairei were from Kyoto. In the previous selection, two Kyoto artists, Mori Kansai (1814-94)⁶⁸⁶ and Date Yasuke (1839-92), were chosen, but Date passed away in 1892.⁶⁸⁷ After the death of Date, two Kyoto artists were added and there were three Kyoto artists in total. The decision could have been influenced by the fact that the NIE IV was going to be held in Kyoto.

On 19 September 1892, a request to hold the NIE IV in Kyoto was published by Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai as explained in Chapter Two. At the end of the book, there is a list of members of Kyoto Chamber of Commerce and Industry. Seifū Yohei III is listed as one of

⁶⁸⁵ Chin Jukan XII was still calling himself Chin (Shim in Korean), his Korean name. If the lists of prizewinners are observed, Miwa Deisuke from Hagi, three Aganos from the Yatsushiro kiln, Chin Jukan and Saka Kōraizaemon, who were descendents of Korean potters brought to Japan after the Japanese invasion to Korea between 1592 and 1598, are all placed at the bottom of each category.

⁶⁸⁶ Maruyama School painter Mori Kansai was a samurai from Chōshū domain. He apprenticed himself to Maruyama School painter, Mori Tetsuzan (1775-1841) in Osaka at the age of eighteen. Later, he was adopted to Tetsuan and called himself Mori Kansai. Kansai moved to Kyoto and helped Chōshū pro-imperialists at the end of Edo period. After the Meiji Restoration, he taught at Kyoto-fu Gagakkō and trained Nomura Bunkyo (1854-1911) and Yamamoto Shunkyo (1871-1933). In 1890, Kansai was designated to *teishitsu gigei'in*.

⁶⁸⁷ Textile industrialist Date Yasuke was born in the family of textile weaver in Nishijin, Kyoto. He studied industrial weaving techniques in Vienna as an official student sent by the government. He is known for introducing Jacquard to Kyoto.

the representative of Tōjiki Shōkō Tatsumigumi.⁶⁸⁸ In July 1893, nine months after this book was published, two Kyoto artists were recommended and became *teishitsu gigei'in*. Kyoto eventually hosted NIE IV. Seifū Yohei III was appointed to be a judge of ceramics at the Exhibition.⁶⁸⁹ All the facts support the idea that Seifū Yohei III and Kōno Bairei were selected in part due to the preparation for the exhibition.

There was competition over the venue of NIE among three cities namely Tokyo, Kyoto and Osaka. The news therefore was well received in Kyoto when it was announced. An article in *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi* was published just after the announcement of the second designation in 1893:

Needless to say, the establishment of [*teishitsu*] *gigei'in* of the Imperial Household was because of the will of his Highness to encourage artists. ...Especially, Kyoto recently lost Date [Yasuke], but Seifū and Bairei were bestowed the honour. We should awesomely understand that his Majesty gives special importance to art in our prefecture.⁶⁹⁰

As the article above stated, it was not only the honour of the two artists designated to *teishitsu gigei'in*, but was also an honour for the entire Kyoto prefecture. It was still only three years after the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in*, but we can already see the theory that Fukuzawa envisioned being fulfilled. People could actually feel the presence of the Emperor from the Imperial artist in their hometown.

Roles and Responsibilities of the *Teishitsu Gigei'in*

As mentioned earlier, no written orders were given to *teishitsu gigei'in* at the first selection in 1890. It was an honourable recognition of artists by the Imperial Household. The

⁶⁸⁸ Kyoto Shōkō Dōmeikai 1892, 38.

⁶⁸⁹ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1895a, 25.

⁶⁹⁰ 「我が帝室ニ技藝員ナルモノヲ設ケラレタルハ、大ニ技術家ヲ奨励セン御主意ナルコト言ハデモ知ルク（中略）特ニ我が京都ハ、曩ニ伊達氏ヲ失ヒタレドモ、更ラニ清風氏ト梅嶺氏ト此ノ光榮ヲ荷フニ至リタルハ、畏クモ、陛下ノ特ニ我が府ノ美術ヲ奨励シ給ハン大御心ナルコト知ルベキナリ」（Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1893 a, 27-28).

annuity was given, but there was not any obligation to fulfil. The second nomination substituted for the four artists who were deceased. We do not know if Seifū Yohei III had certain responsibilities expected after his designation. The third nomination in 1896, a list of five responsibilities was issued for the first time as follows:

1. In order to encourage and promote national art, a *teishitsu gigei'in* must follow the principles: to revive the old, to consider the present, to become proficient in the techniques of their art and craft, and to guide followers.
2. [*Teishitsu*] *gigei'in* is required to be high-principled. Any behaviour to disgrace the honour will not be tolerated.
3. At times, the Imperial Household Agency orders the [*teishitsu*] *gigei'in* to create works. For this purpose, an appropriate fee will be given.
4. Twice in every year or for a special occasion, [*teishitsu*] *gigei'in* will be asked to assist with issues related to technical skills by the director of the Imperial Museum. When the President orders a report for him or to attend an inquiry, [*teishitsu gigei'in*] will be required to report or reply. The director will suggest the format of the report.
5. The Director of the Imperial Museum will supervise the artistic activities of [*teishitsu*] *gigei'in*. At times, [the Director] will observe or inspect their works.⁶⁹¹

Article One clearly states that the *teishitsu gigei'in* has to be the leader of their field. Soon after the first designation, the Japanese economy recovered and people fully accepted the Emperor's leadership in this area. As a result, Article Three became the most important aspect of the system not long after its foundation. It was to appoint artists to represent the art of Japan. It became the ultimate target for many artists to acquire the title. In other words, the government gained certain control over the arts by setting suitable role models for their ideals under the name of the Imperial Household. Article Four and Five suggest that the

⁶⁹¹ 「第一 帝室技藝員は本邦美術を奨励する為古を徴し今を稽へ工藝技術を練磨し後進を誘導するを旨とすべし 第二 帝室技藝員は其志操を高潔にし其體面を損ずる如き挙動あるべからず 第三 技藝員は宮内省より特に製作を命ぜらるゝことあるべし 但其製作に對しては相當の報酬を支給するものとす 第四 技藝員は毎年兩度若くは其工藝技術上に関する事項に就き帝国博物館総長より諮問を受け若くは報告を命ぜらるゝときは之に應答し若くは報告書を出すべし 但報告書の方案は總長之を指示す 第五 帝国博物館総長は技藝員の業務素行を監督し隨時技藝員の製作物を臨検し又は製作品を檢視することあるべし」 (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1896, 6-7).

director of the Imperial Museum had control over the works of *teishitsu gigei'in* in certain ways.

Unlike pre-modern times, Imperial patronage was not just for artists who received financial benefit. In the Meiji era, it was institutionalised in order to expand recognition of the role of the Imperial Household in society. Although it took rather long and many steps before the system was established, the outcome must have been quite satisfactory for the government. Perhaps, the government acquired a way to both support and take advantage of the arts in return for a relatively limited expenditure. At the same time, the art works created by *teishitsu gigei'in* were under the supervision of the government and artists were required to produce works suited to the official taste.

Ueno Naoaki once described the relationship between the Imperial Household and the art of the Meiji era.

At exhibitions during the Meiji era when domestic demand for art objects was not so active, the Imperial Household was the only and the most important client. Therefore, art dealers ordered artists to create works, where there was a high possibility that the Imperial Household Agency would make a purchase, and artists also made great efforts to receive the honour of being purchase [by the Imperial Household Agency]. ... In addition, it was the greatest honour of artists to be commissioned by the Imperial Household Agency or a household of a member of the Imperial family, for occasions such as the refurbishment of the palace and so on. It was also one of the means for artists to establish their financial security.⁶⁹²

This commentary suggests that Imperial patronage became a crucial aspect for the artists.

The *Teishitsu gigei'in* system should be regarded as a part of this phenomenon in the arts of Japan in the Meiji era.

⁶⁹² 「美術工芸品の国内需要が余り高まっていない明治期の展覧会では、皇室は唯一最大の顧客と目された。したがって、美術商は宮中買上の可能性の多い物を工芸家に作らせたし、工芸家も亦お買上の光栄を獲得すべく努力した。(中略) 又宮城内改築その他の機会に宮内省から出される注文や各宮家の仕事は、工芸家にとっての最大の名誉であると共に、彼等の経済的生活を確保する手段でもあった。」 (Ueno 1956, 244).

Seifū Yohei III as *Teishitsu Gigei'in*

This chapter now looks at the benefit Seifū Yohei III gained after becoming a *teishitsu gigei'in*. By looking at works he did for the Imperial Household, it will try to examine the official taste and the conditions of patronage of a potter. The following discussion will be separated into two parts. Firstly, it will look at the orders Seifū Yohei III received from the Imperial Household over the years after his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in*. Secondly, it will examine the difference in his ceramic production before and after the designation.

One of the obvious differences in Seifū Yohei III's works before and after his designation to *teishitsu gigei'in* was that he started to give his newly invented coloured glazes Japanese names. For example, *kokushoku-yū* (national colour glaze) and *tsukiyoi* (evening moon) celadon in 1893, *akebonoiro tansai-yū* (dawn colour light glaze) in 1895, *Nihon seikai shinkōsei-ji* (Japanese clear-sky pure-light style porcelain) in between 1897 and 1914 are on the list of his inventions.⁶⁹³

Yohei then introduced distinctively Japanese motifs into his works. *Kyokusai yamazakura yūshōzu kabin* (Morning-sun colour vase with wild cherry blossom) (fig. 1-82) in the Museum of Imperial Collection is a remarkable example in this respect. This must have had affected the choice of styles of Seifū Yohei III, who had just become a *teishitsu gigei'in*. According to the above article, wild cherry blossom under morning sun light was the symbol of Japan. This subject matter explains the reason for the purchase of the vase by the Imperial Household. *Kyoto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi* (Magazine of the Kyoto Art Association) in 1894 states:

The beauty of Japanese arts must have a quality similar to the wild cherry blossoms catching the morning sun light. I say wild cherry blossom. It is not peony, lotus flower nor rose. In other words, the arts should not be learnt

⁶⁹³ Appendix 1-1.

from the West, nor India and China. Just our cherry blossom should be the ultimate beauty of our arts. ... We all should have the Japanese heart, but should not just try to become a man of China or Korea.⁶⁹⁴

Here, cherry blossom, peony, lotus flower and rose are the symbols of Japan, China, India and the West, respectively. This article suggests importance in focusing on Japanese features and departing from foreign styles especially the Chinese and Korean. Yohei III must have read this article as he was a member of Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai (Kyoto Art Association).

Another work is *Seika kachō moyō kabin* (Blue-and-white vase with birds and flower) in the collection of the library of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven in Belgium (fig. 6-10). This vase was created in 1899 as one of his main exhibits in the Exposition Universelle in Paris in 1900. Having been purchased by the Imperial Household before the exposition, this vase returned to Japan with two other vases. In 1922, Emperor Shōwa (1901-89) presented the vase to the library with books. The design in underglaze cobalt blue is after a *karabitsu* (footed quadrangular wooden storage box) in the Shōsō-in (treasure house belonging to Tōdai-ji temple).⁶⁹⁵ This is another example to show his shift to Japanese themes.

The other two vases, created and exhibited in Paris, show similar characteristics. *Kanpaku-ji chōkokuga kabin* (Vase with relief decoration) was recently discovered in the collection of Yōdo-ka (The Supplies Department) of the Imperial Household Agency (fig. 6-11). This design was probably learned from ancient Japanese objects as it was described in an 1897 article as ‘the design is an ancient Japanese pattern with birds.’⁶⁹⁶ *Tenmoku-yū unryūhan kabin* (Tenmoku vase with dragon in the clouds) was another recent discovery in

⁶⁹⁴ 「日本美術ノ美ナル、眞ニ朝日ニ匂フ山櫻ノ觀無カル可カラス、吾輩山櫻ト云フ、牡丹ニハ非サルナリ、蓮花ニハアラサルナリ、又薔薇ニモアラサルナリ、サレハ固ヨリ美術ハ西洋ニ學フ可カラス、印度支那に倣フ可カラス、唯我カ櫻花コソ我カ美術極致ノ美タレ（中略）皆大和心トナルヘキナリ、豈唯唐土ノ人ト高麗ノ人ノミナランヤ」(Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1894, 3).

⁶⁹⁵ Sannomaru Shōzōkan 2008, 46. A similar work is in the collection of Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

⁶⁹⁶ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b, 19.

the Imperial Guesthouse in Akasaka, Tokyo (fig. 6-12).⁶⁹⁷ This vase has been used as an interior decoration for over a century. Among the three works commissioned by the Imperial Household Agency, the production cost of this vase was the highest. The impressionistic way of realising the dragon in the glaze is different from works by any other Japanese potters from the period. Although the *tenmoku* glaze was made originally in China, it was appreciated more in Japan than China. Seifū Yohei III used this glaze because he was trying to express Japaneseness through this vase to the foreign viewers. These facts explain Seifū Yohei IV's statement that Yohei III produced Japanese-style wares in his later years.⁶⁹⁸ Seifū Yohei III did not stop creating works of Chinese themes, but certainly changed his focus to works of Japanese themes after the 1893, the year he became a *teishitsu gigei'in*.⁶⁹⁹

The Imperial Household Agency commissioned thirteen works from Seifū Yohei III, consisting of four large vases, seven vases, one jar, and one incense burner. In addition, the Household of the Crown Prince, the Household of Prince Arisugawa and the Household of Prince Fushimi commissioned five works.⁷⁰⁰ Furthermore, the Imperial Household Agency, the Emperor Meiji, Empress Shōken and the Crown Prince (Emperor Taishō) purchased sixteen Seifū Yohei III works at various exhibitions.⁷⁰¹ From the title of listed works, it appears that six of the commissioned works are repeated in the list of works purchased at exhibitions.⁷⁰² It seems that the Imperial Household commissioned or purchased at least twenty-eight Seifū Yohei III works over a period of twenty-one years. Considering there is no record of Seifū Yohei III's works being acquired by the Imperial Household prior to his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in*, it is a remarkable change.

Most of these works were vases and incense burners. These were probably

⁶⁹⁷ A similar vase is in a private collection in New York (fig. 1-72).

⁶⁹⁸ Kuroda 1920, 184.

⁶⁹⁹ Further research will be needed to determine whether the other *teishitsu gigei'in* of this period also introduced Japanese-type motifs into their works or not.

⁷⁰⁰ Appendix 6-2, 14-18.

⁷⁰¹ Appendix 6-3, 19-34.

⁷⁰² Appendix 6-2, 2 and 6-3, 19; 6-2, 4 and 6-3, 28; 6-2, 6 and 6-3, 25; 6-2, 10 and 6-3, 33; 6-2, 14 and 6-3, 29; and 6-2, 17 and 6-3, 32.

purchased for display in the Imperial Palace or residences of Imperial family members. These residences were mostly built in European styles and vases were often used for room decoration (fig. 6-13). A large number of objects would have been required to fill these spaces. After the completion of the Meiji Palace in 1888, demand for such art works for interior decoration must have increased. It is also interesting that the Crown Prince purchased various tea wares, perhaps for his own enjoyment.

Three Seifū Yohei III works (one was probably by Yohei IV) are now in Sannomaru Shōzōkan, but only one is identified within the list. *Kyokusai yamazakura yūshōzu kabin* (Large vase with birds and mountain cherry blossom in morning sun glaze) (list no. 10 and 33) (fig. 1-82) was exhibited at Dai 37 kai Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai Bijutsu Tenrankai (The Thirty-seventh Exhibition of Japan Art Association) in 1905 and won the Third Copper Prize. The Imperial Household Agency purchased the vase for one-hundred and fifty yen. There are two other works by Seifū Yohei III in the Museum Collection. *Rōka hakuji kōro* (White incense burner with cherry blossom) was presented to the Emperor Meiji for the celebration of the victory of Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) in 1906. The incense burner is a part of a set of twenty-five objects produced by twenty-five *teishitsu gigei'in* at the time.⁷⁰³ A white vase in the collection cannot be positively identified in the list (fig. 1-83).⁷⁰⁴ The inscription on lid verso states ‘Given by the Emperor on 27 October Taishō 2 (1913).’ It explains that Emperor Taishō gave the vase to the Crown Prince (Emperor Shōwa) in 1913. If so, the vase should have been acquired by Emperor Meiji or Emperor Taishō by 1913, one year before the death of Seifū Yohei III. If this vase was not acquired directly from the artist, it could have been presented to Emperor Taishō by someone. Including these gifts to the Emperor, there were probably more than twenty-eight recorded Seifū Yohei III works once held in the Imperial Household.

⁷⁰³ See Chapter One for a detailed explanation of the incense burner.

⁷⁰⁴ The vase can be Appendix 6-2, 2: *Taihakuji chōkoku kabin* (White porcelain vase with carved design) or Appendix 6-3, 19: *Taihakuji botan horiiri tō kabin* (White vase with carved peony design).

It is surprising that only one of twenty-eight works is now recorded in the collection. However, it does not mean all the other Seifū Yohei III works were lost. Okamoto Takashi, a curator for ceramics at Sannomaru Shōzōkan, is researching these other Seifū Yohei III works. According to Okamoto, some works were probably given to foreign guests and some are still today used in the palace. In addition, no research on the personal holdings of the current Emperor has been undertaken. Unless the Imperial family gave up these unknown works, these would not be accessioned to the Imperial Collection.⁷⁰⁵

In addition, recognition by the Imperial Household would have increased orders for works by Seifū Yohei III. *Seiji botanga mizusashi* (Porcelain water pot with celadon glaze and peony relief) is in the Jim Heusinger Collection (fig. 6-14). This water pot is accompanied by a letter by Seifū Yohei IV dated 28 November 1914 to Kiyota Shunpei (dates unknown), butler of Baron Hosokawa Moritatsu (1883-1970)⁷⁰⁶, Kumamoto Prefecture. Here, Seifū Yohei IV authenticates the water jar to Seifū Yohei III (fig. 6-15).

Being a *teishitsu gigei'in* imposed significant responsibilities, but at the same time, the financial benefit, which all the *teishitsu gigei'in* received, was not small. As one of the purposes was to support artists, the annuity of one hundred yen was given to all holders.⁷⁰⁷ These artists were regularly commissioned to create works for the Imperial Household. The prices of some works purchased by the Imperial Household Agency are known. For example, Appendix 6-3, no. 27, *Kanpaku-ji bashōbori kabin* (Vase with *kanpaku-ji* glaze and carving of banana leaf) was sold for 50 yen.⁷⁰⁸ No. 28, *Seika botan moyō jiki tsubo* (Porcelain jar with underglaze blue peony design) and no. 30, *Seiji daikōro* (Large porcelain incense burner

⁷⁰⁵ Interviews with Okamoto Takashi in 2007 and 2008.

⁷⁰⁶ Hosokawa Moritatsu is the Sixteenth head of the Hosokawa family in Kumamoto. He was a famous art collector of the twentieth century and his collection is now exhibited in Eisei-bunko. He was one of the founding members of monthly journal *Shirakaba* (White Birch) and patron of many artists and writers of the twentieth century.

⁷⁰⁷ Seifū Yohei III priced his major work normally between 30 and 120 yen. The annuity of 100 yen therefore equals price of his most expensive works.

⁷⁰⁸ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b, 16.

with celadon glaze) were sold for 30 yen each.⁷⁰⁹ No. 31, *Soba-yū jiki kabin* (Porcelain vase with soba-coloured glaze) was sold for 120 yen.⁷¹⁰ Probably the most significant purchase of Seifū Yohei III's works by the Imperial Household Agency was for the three works produced for the Exposition Universelle Paris in 1900. Seifū Yohei III produced four large vases for the exposition. For the production of *Seiji tobi-yū kabin* (Porcelain vase with celadon glaze in *tobiseiji* style), 300 yen was granted by the government (fig. 6-16). A similar style vase is in the collection of the Tokyo National Museum (fig. 1-79). Seifū Yohei III stated that the total cost of production for this celadon vase was 800 yen.⁷¹¹ Three major works including this celadon vase were purchased by the Imperial Household Agency prior to the exposition (fig. 6-10, 11, 12).⁷¹²

In 1887, the annual gross sales of Seifū Yohei III's workshop were merely 785 yen.⁷¹³ It most likely increased after his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893 even though it is not known how much his income grew. Seifū Yohei III did not own a climbing kiln by the late 1900's, and the size of the kiln space was limited.⁷¹⁴ The amount of work he could produce probably did not increase much. He must have increased the price. At any rate, there is no doubt that the annuity of one hundred yen and purchase of a couple of major works by the Imperial Household would have accounted for an important share of his income. There was also a significant increase in demand for his work. It is likely that works by Seifū Yohei III were only available to a limited number of important customers.

Conclusion

There were three purposes for the establishment of *teishitsu gigei'in*: conservation

⁷⁰⁹ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1898, 8. Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1899, 7.

⁷¹⁰ Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1900a, 1.

⁷¹¹ Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1897, 706.

⁷¹² Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897 b, 19.

⁷¹³ Seifū 1887.

⁷¹⁴ See Chapter One for a discussion of the issues surrounding of Seifū Yohei III's kiln.

of Japan's distinctive art and culture; revitalization of Imperial authority by supporting nationally acknowledged artists; centralisation of the arts by giving authority to leading artists. Works by *teishitsu gigei'in* were highly respected because of their recognition by the Emperor. It appears that the system eventually contributed to a crystallisation of the official taste of Imperial Japan. As Takashina and Takagi pointed out, it was also connected to the establishment of national identity through art. In addition, the government had the right to supervise the design of works by *teishitsu gigei'in* after the third designation in 1896. It could even be considered as the beginning of censorship of the arts, which became more visible towards the end of the Meiji era in order to assure the hegemony of imperial ideology as Gluck has said.⁷¹⁵

Seifū Yohei III was one of seventy-nine *teishitsu gigei'in*. Each of them would have had different reasons for their designation. However, examination of the designation of this ceramic artist has revealed a number of facts. Seifū Yohei III's award of the highest prize at NIE III led to his designation. The graceful and refined appearance of his works and his technical perfection were the two points highly valued. These two aspects were most likely the characteristics that the Imperial Household would have wanted.

After becoming *teishitsu gigei'in*, the life of Seifū Yohei III changed completely. Seifū Yohei III started to adopt Japanese decorative motifs into Qing-style porcelain immediately after his designation as *teishitsu gigei'in* in 1893. Seifū Yohei III was one of artists who redirected the course of his creation and worked on combining Japanese and Chinese elements. Here, his main interest was neither the reproduction of historical Chinese ceramics nor a hotchpotch of multi-national elements into one ceramic work typical of export Japanese ceramics for the Western market from the 1870s. The clay body and glaze surface became more refined hoping to reach the level of Qing official wares, while distinctive Japanese motifs such as mountain cherry blossoms, were blended into it. By

⁷¹⁵ Gluck 1985, 282.

doing so, his works passed all the requirements to be a ceramic work for the Emperor.

Conclusion

Japanese ceramics of the Meiji era have often been studied and written about in the context of Westernisation and modernisation. In the early Meiji era, ceramic ware was one of a very few Japanese industrial products to become widely known in Europe and the USA. The enthusiastic reception of Japanese export ceramics has always been acknowledged as one of the major factors in Japonisme and the introduction of Japanese culture in the West. This thesis, however, has focused more on ceramics aimed at a domestic clientele, and how China, Chinese ceramic styles and decorative motifs were equally important. The discussion here focuses nearly exclusively on the life and work of Seifū Yohei III, one of the pre-eminent potters of the Meiji era. Along with being the first detailed study of this potter in any language, this thesis explored the cross-cultural exchange of objects and aesthetic ideals between China and Japan. The Sino-Japanese interaction during Meiji era should be recognized as important not only on the political and diplomatic fronts, but also as a crucial period of cultural exchange. The supply of fine Chinese porcelain to Japan was seemed to be possible even during the political upheaval of the Meiji Restoration and continued uninterruptedly through the Edo to Meiji periods. Works of Japanese potters clearly suggest that they had certain access to fine examples of Chinese porcelain, and Seifū Yohei III was among the most prominent of those who learned from continental models.

The Seifū family had earlier established itself as skilled in the production of high-quality *sencha* tea ware, and Seifū Yohei III carried on this tradition and expanded the repertory of Qing-style wares. He was a professionally trained literati-style painter and had a strong connection to the circle of Japanese literati who were conversant in Chinese literati ideals. It is important to note that that Seifū Yohei III became the first potter to be appointed

to the position of *teishitsu gigei'in* (Artist for the Imperial Household) even though most of his works reflected a Chinese style. His official recognition by the Japanese government confirms that Qing-style porcelain was highly regarded in elite circles in modern Japan.

In an interesting twist of cultural boomerang effect, Chinese-style porcelains produced in Japan, including examples in a Qing-style, were exported to China. Because of the Taiping Rebellion of 1850-64, Jingdezhen was unable to supply enough porcelain wares for their internal market in the late nineteenth century and so China became an important market for the Japanese ceramic industry. As discussed in Chapter Three, Sino-Japanese ceramic trade was mainly controlled by Chinese merchants based primarily in Kobe. By the 1880s, China in fact became one of major importers of Japanese ceramics. Simultaneously, fine examples of early Chinese porcelain started to appear on the international market because of the political upheaval in China. As a result, masterpieces of Chinese ceramics were acquired by Japan collectors, and there was a continued interest in things Chinese despite political tensions. Furthermore, many Chinese scholars and students arrived in Japan and introduced contemporary Chinese culture. Artistic interaction took place on many levels, and ceramic ware always remained central to the cultural exchange between the two countries.

In Japan, there was always a strong market for Japanese copies of Chinese porcelain since the supply of Chinese porcelain was always overwhelmed by demand. As more fine examples of pre-modern Chinese ceramics become available, many Japanese potters attempted to copy and recreate them as closely as possible, both to test their technical skills and to respond to their clients' requests. From the early 1880s, as advanced scientific technology entered Japan, it was possible to carry out the chemical analysis of Chinese porcelain, which unlocked many of the 'secrets' of Chinese glazes. The new knowledge of

traditional Chinese ceramic production became widely available in ceramic workshops and research institutions by the beginning of the twentieth century. As a result, the knowledge and use of new glazes and related techniques gave potters more options for creating new types of works reflecting old technologies merged with new aesthetics. Eventually, the combination of these factors helped Japan to emerge as one of the foremost producers of both artistic and industrial ceramics.

This thesis has focused on life and work of Seifū Yohei III, but is not limited to a straightforward biographical study. Having devoted Chapter One to the history of the Seifū family, each of the subsequent five chapters approached Seifū Yohei III from different interdisciplinary perspectives. I have tried to show how the examination of an individual potter could shed light not only on the field of ceramics, but also on topics related more broadly to other areas of art history, material culture, and international cultural exchange. Moreover, this thesis serves as one of the first extended studies of Kyoto as a major centre of artistic production of Japan during the Meiji era. Previous studies have often made it seem as though Tokyo had completely eclipsed the ancient capital as a centre of Japanese culture. Despite preconceptions to the contrary, it becomes obvious that Kyoto remained at least as important as Tokyo in the aspect of art production.

In the course of my research, I encountered a few insurmountable obstacles in accessing certain materials, but hope to be able to overcome these in the future now that Seifū Yohei's reputation is gradually being re-established. When I began a research on Seifū Yohei III almost five years ago, less than a dozen works by him were known to be in Japanese museums, but at the same time it was obvious that that many of his works remained in the hands of private Japanese collectors. At first, I only had limited access to such private collections since it was difficult to gain access to them, especially as a student

working at a foreign university. I am fortunate, however, to have had the opportunity to meet Seki Kazuo, who probably has the largest collection of works by Seifū Yohei III in Japan.

As my work progressed I became more aware of many major works by Seifū Yohei III in Japanese private collections. Probably the most important discovery for my research is the collection of Seifū's works in Sen'oku Hakukokan, Museum of the Sumitomo Collection. Seven major works by Seifū Yohei III were displayed from April to June 2009, several months after this thesis was submitted.⁷¹⁶ This exhibition also exhibited works by a number of leading ceramicists contemporary to Seifū including Kanzan Denshichi, Miyagawa Kōzan I, Kinkōzan Sōbei VII, Miura Chikusen I and Kiyomizu Rokubei V. The majority of works were in styles of Ming and Qing porcelain including monochromes, polychrome overglaze enamels and *Blanc de Chine*. That this collection once belonged to one of the most prestigious families of Japan only further confirms one of issues that this thesis has tried to demonstrate – that Chinese-style porcelain were in great demand among a collecting elite in Meiji Japan. Unfortunately, these works only came to my attention at the final stage of my research and I was unable to include them since the final draft of my thesis had already been submitted.

One area that I would have liked to have expand on were the this thesis were the *sencha* wares Seifū Yohei III, but at the time of writing I did not have access to what I realized was one of the most important collections of such works at the Seikadō Bunko, Museum of the Iwasaki Collection. Iwasaki Yanosuke, one of the founders of the collection, acquired *sencha* wares of Oku Randen as explained in the Chapter Five. Further research on the collection will be extremely important for issues related to *sencha* and *sencha* wares of the late Edo and Meiji periods.

⁷¹⁶ Sen'oku Hakukokan 2009.

Another important publication that only came out in 2009 was by Okamoto Takashi, a curator of the Museum of Imperial Collection, who wrote on three vases of Seifū Yohei III exhibited for the Paris International Exposition in 1900.⁷¹⁷ To produce them, Seifū received subvention from the Imperial Household Agency, and all three vases were later purchased by the Agency. In this article, Okamoto introduced documents in Shoryō-bu (the Archives and Mausolea Department) of the Imperial Household Agency concerning the production of these three vases. Such material will be included in future publications that emerge from this thesis.

The late nineteenth to the early twentieth century was a crucial turning point in the field of Asian ceramic studies, and it was a time when the field was being formed, and closely related to perceptions of Asia at the time. In terms of shaping the history of Chinese ceramics, Japanese scholars played an important role as Japan had centuries of experience in collecting Chinese porcelain. However, both Qing porcelain and Qing-style Japanese porcelain were already considered outdated when the history of Chinese ceramics became an object of academic studies. This view has been passed on to generations of scholars and seemingly created an idea that Qing porcelain was never popular in Japan. This thesis attempted to display some of these misunderstandings within the history of Asian ceramics. A number of important issues surrounding the ceramic studies might perhaps have the same roots. It is important to re-examine the history of Asian ceramic studies and see if there is any other periods or styles, which have been unfairly treated.

Lastly, this thesis mainly focused on materials and documents available in Britain and Japan. Similar to the Meiji ceramics in the past, modern Chinese porcelain is not frequently discussed subjects. Late Qing porcelain is often regarded as an unworthy subject

⁷¹⁷ Okamoto 2009.

to explore, because the quality of works show continuous decline towards the end of the Qing dynasty. Although some excavation reports are available, it is difficult even to have a glimpse of productions and artistic creations in Chinese kilns of the late Qing dynasty. Without having more Chinese materials, it is not possible to comprehend the overview of it. This thesis has demonstrated how influential Chinese porcelain of the nineteenth century was to the history of Japanese porcelain production. This thesis may well accelerate the study of modern Chinese porcelain.

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Qing-style Porcelain in Meiji Japan

The Ceramic Art of Seifū Yohei III

(Volume 2)

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Appendices

Appendix 1-1: Chronological list of Seifū Yohei III major achievements.

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|------------------------------|---|
| 1. 明治五年一月
1. Jan 1872 | 太白磁渾白釉ノ製土及浮起紋彫刻（大白磁及渾白釉練土及焼製法、太白磁及渾白釉沈彫浮彫の製法）
Clay preparation method for <i>taihaku-ji</i> (great white porcelain) and <i>kanpaku-yū</i> (clean white glaze) and method for carving and relief decoration |
| 2. 明治六年一月
2. Jan 1873 | 百花錦釉蒔畫及墨畫ノ製法
<i>Hyakkanishiki-yū</i> (polychrome overglaze enamels) and <i>Hatsu-ga</i> (sgraffito) and ink painting methods. |
| 3. 明治六年四月
3. April 1873 | 宜興製窯藍海鼠紫海鼠釉ヲ創製シ焼法ヲ出ス
Yixing style blue and purple <i>namako-yū</i> (sea cucumber glaze) and its firing method |
| 4. 明治七年三月
4. Mar 1874 | 細鱗紋及八重環瑤等ノ法（細鱗紋及八重環瑤紋製法）
<i>Sairin-mon</i> (fine scale design) and <i>yaekanyō</i> (?) design |
| 5. 明治七年五月
5. May 1874 | 白磁大氷裂製ノ焼法
Firing method of white porcelain with large crackles |
| 6. 明治八年三月
6. Mar 1875 | 朱泥烏泥ノ製土焼法
Method of preparing and firing <i>shudei</i> (red clay) and <i>udei</i> (black clay) |
| 7. 明治九年一月
7. Jan 1876 | 淡墨質陶器白磁花紋ヲ散嵌シテ内外貫徹ノ製法
Method of randomly inlaying flower-shaped design with white porcelain in a gray stoneware body |
| 8. 明治十年三月
8. Mar 1877 | 白磁ニ白磁ノ紋様透明ノ法
Transparent effects of white porcelain decoration on white porcelain |
| 9. 明治十一年二月
9. Feb 1878 | 辰砂釉及烏磁釉ノ焼法
Firing method of <i>shinsha-yū</i> (copper red glaze or oxblood glaze) and <i>uji-yū</i> (black porcelain glaze) |
| 10. 明治十二年六月
10. Jun 1879 | 葵花釉陶磁ノ焼法
Firing method of ceramics with <i>kika-yū</i> (hollyhock glaze or mauve glaze) |
| 11. 明治十三年十一月
11. Nov 1880 | 百花錦磁ニ金欄及極彩色ノ畫又ハ石摺白畫ノ法（百花錦磁に金銀畫及彩色畫又は石摺法）
Enammelling in gold (and silver), polychrome enamels and stone-impressed technique on <i>hyakkanishiki-ji</i> (overglaze polychrome enamelled porcelain) |

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| 12. 明治十四年二月
12. Feb 1881 | 百花釉ニ大氷烈製紋及細鱗紋ノ製法
Crackled design and fine scale design on <i>hyakka-yū</i>
(polychrome glazes) |
| 13. 明治十五年一月
13. Jan 1882 | 秘色磁礬釉ノ焼法
Firing method of <i>hishoku-ji</i> (misu ware) with <i>kinuta-yū</i>
(celadon glaze) |
| 14. 明治十五年四月
14. Apr 1882 | 浅絳色釉畫及彫刻象眼
<i>Senkōshoku-yū</i> (pink glaze) painting and inlay |
| 15. 明治十五年六月
15. Jun 1882 | 陶磁器金盛ノ製法
Method of piling up gold enamel on ceramics |
| No inventions in 1883 and 1884 | |
| 16. 明治十八年十月
16. Oct 1885 | 紫磁釉ニ金襴畫ノ製法
Method of painting gold enamel on purple glazed porcelain |
| 17. 明治十九年一月
17. Jan 1886 | 紫釉ニ白釉描畫ノ焼法 (各色質陶磁に白描畫製法)
Firing method of white enamel on any glazed background |
| 18. 明治二十年二月
18. Feb 1887 | 陶磁珊瑚釉ノ焼法
Firing method of <i>sango-yū</i> (coral red glaze) |
| 19. 明治二十一年三月
19. Mar 1888 | 紫釉ニ銀畫ノ焼法
Firing method of painting in silver enamel on purple glazed background |
| 20. 明治二十二年一月
20. Jan 1889 | 黄釉青花釉ノ焼法 (青花磁に黄釉を施すの製法)
Firing method of yellow glaze on blue-and-white porcelain |
| 21. 明治二十二年一月
21. Jan 1889 | 青花磁ニ珊瑚釉ノ焼法 (青花磁に珊瑚釉色及各色釉の同製法)
Firing method of <i>sango-yū</i> (coral red glaze) on blue-and-white porcelain |
| 22. 明治二十三年五月
22. May 1890 | 玢釉ニ青花磁ノ焼法 (玢釉ニ青花畫紋の焼出製法)
Firing method of <i>gen-yū</i> (jade colour glaze) over blue-and-white porcelain |
| 23. 明治二十三年三月
23. Mar 1890 | 陶磁櫻花彩釉ノ製法
Ceramics with <i>ōkasai-yū</i> (cherry blossom glaze) |
| 24. 明治二十四年二月
24. Feb 1891 | 陶磁天晴色釉製ヲ出ス
Ceramics with <i>tenseishoku-yū</i> (clear sky coloured glaze) |
| 25. 明治二十四年二月
25. Feb 1891 | 白磁本窯墨畫ノ製
Black painting on white porcelain for high fired kiln wares |

26. 明治二十五年六月
26. Jun 1892 白磁本窯臙白銚白釉彫刻畫製法ヲ成ス
Rōhaku and *senpaku-yū* (matt white and glossy white glaze)
over carved designs on high fired white porcelain
27. 明治二十五年十月
27. Oct 1892 白磁本窯花磁淡彩彫刻畫ノ製法
Light coloured glaze over carved designs on high fired white
porcelain
28. 明治二十五年十一月
28. Nov 1892 琅玕磁に浮起紋製ヲ出ス
Relief decoration on *rōkan-ji* (porcelain with dark green glaze)
29. 明治二十五年十一月
29. Nov 1892 紺磁金銀泥ノ製焼法
Firing method of overglaze gold and silver enamel on dark blue
glazed porcelain
30. 明治二十六年三月
30. Mar 1893 天目釉瀧條班之製法
Tenmoku-yū (tenmoku glaze) with *rōjō-han* (waterfall streak
marks)
31. 明治二十六年四月
31. Apr 1893 天目釉降雨班之製法
Tenmoku-yū (tenmoku glaze) with *kōu-han* (rainfall marks)
32. 明治二十六年五月
32. May 1893 天目釉躍龍班之製法
Tenmoku-yū (tenmoku glaze) with *yakuryū-han* (rising dragon
mark)
33. 明治二十六年六月
33. Jun 1893 國色磁陶磁之製焼法
Kokushoku-ji (porcelain with the national colour glaze;
probably red or pink)
34. 明治二十六年十月
34. Oct 1893 煥白磁淡紅釉之製焼法
Kanpaku-ji (pure white porcelain) with *tankō-yū* (light red
glaze)
35. 明治二十六年十月
35. Oct 1893 姚紅磁鮮赤釉之製焼法
Yōkō-ji (fine red porcelain) with fresh red glaze
36. 明治二十六年十一月
36. Nov 1893 葵花釉紫色畫紋之焼法
Firing method of purple coloured painting or designs on
kika-yū (hollyhock glaze or mauve glaze)
37. 明治二十六年十一月
37. Nov 1893 魏紫釉陶磁ノ焼製法
Firing method of ceramics with *gishi-yū* (reddish purple glaze)
38. 明治二十六年十二月
38. Dec 1893 黒釉陶磁ニ黄色紋ノ製
Yellow-coloured design on ceramics with black glaze
39. 明治二十六年十二月
39. Dec 1893 黄釉陶磁ニ黒色紋ノ製
Black-coloured design on ceramics with yellow glaze

- | | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| 40. 明治二十七年二月
40. Feb 1894 | 彫刻花紋本窯着彩之製
Carved flower design with high fired coloured glazes |
| 41. 明治二十七年五月
41. May 1894 | 月宵青磁彫畫ノ製法
<i>Tsukiyoi</i> (evening moon) celadon with carved painting |
| 42. 明治二十七年五月
42. May 1894 | 陶磁鱈皮釉ノ製法
<i>Gohi-yū</i> (skin of <i>kochi</i> fish glaze) |
| 43. 明治二十七年六月
43. June 1894 | 磁製同釉ノ焼成法
Firing method of <i>gohi-yū</i> glaze on porcelain |
| 44. 明治二十七年九月
44. Sep 1894 | 青磁白釉嵌入紋ノ焼法
Firing method of celadon with white inlay |
| 45. 明治二十七年十月
45. Oct 1894 | 本窯紫釉氷裂紋ノ製法
High fired purple glaze with crackled pattern |
| 46. 明治二十八年一月
46. Jan 1895 | 水色釉魚紋及貝盡ノ浮起紋製法
Fish design with light blue glaze and various seashell designs in relief |
| 47. 明治二十八年二月
47. Feb 1895 | 青磁墨畫ノ焼成法
Firing method of ink painting on celadon glaze |
| 48. 明治二十八年二月
48. Feb 1895 | 青花磁饗餐紋大花瓶ノ焼成
Large blue-and-white vase with <i>tōtetsu-mon</i> (archaic bronze design) |
| 49. 明治二十八年三月
49. Mar 1895 | 曙色淡彩釉本窯ノ焼法
Firing method of <i>akebonoiro tansai-yū</i> (dawn colour or light red colour glaze) in high fired kiln |
| 50. 明治二十八年四月
50. Apr 1895 | 煥白磁百虫百蝶ノ彫刻製法
Carving decoration of various insects and butterflies with <i>kanpaku-ji</i> (porcelain with transparent glaze with pink shading) |
| 51. 明治二十八年三月
51. Mar 1895 | 青花磁曙色淡彩ノ製法
Blue-and-white porcelain with <i>akebono tansai-yū</i> (dawn colour or light red colour glaze) |
| 52. 明治二十八年四月
52. Apr 1895 | 茶葉磁之製焼法
Firing method of <i>chayō-ji</i> (tea leaf glazed porcelain) |
| 53. 明治二十九年二月
53. Feb 1896 | 藍磁彫刻紋之製法
Carving designs on blue glazed porcelain |
| 54. 明治二十九年三月
54. Mar 1896 | 藍磁黄色畫之焼法
Firing method of yellow painting on blue glazed porcelain |

55. 明治二十九年四月
55. Apr 1896 黄釉及茶色釉玩瑤紋之製
Yellow glaze and brown glaze with *ganyō-mon* (?) design
56. 明治三十年一月
56. Jan 1897 金花點磁釉製燒之方法
Firing method of *kinkatenji-yū* (gold flower dots glaze)
57. 明治三十年一月
57. Jan 1897 黑磁金星點製燒之方法
Firing method of gold star dots on black glazed porcelain
58. 明治三十年一月
58. Jan 1897 黑磁雪點製燒之方法
Firing method of snow dots on black glazed porcelain

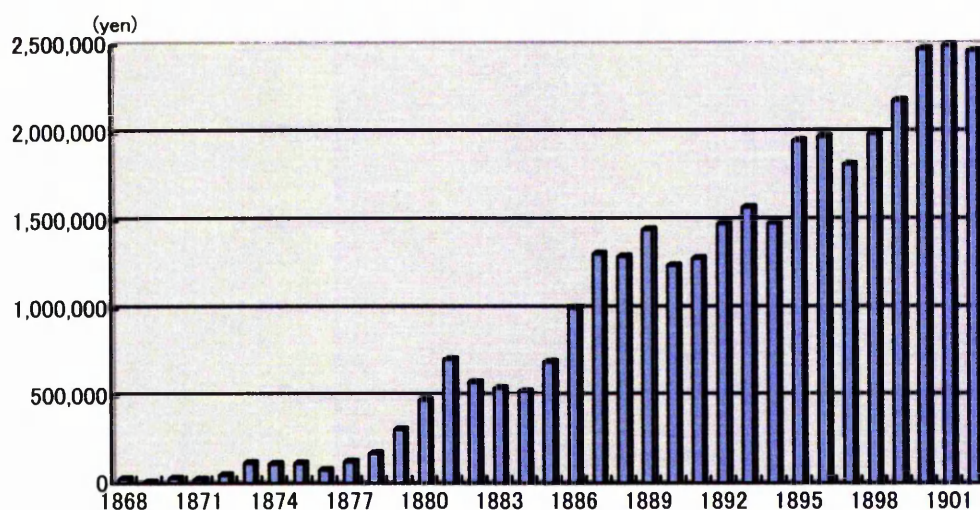
The list of inventions by Seifū Yohei III between 1898 and 1914

59. 1898-1914 茶褐色陶磁に鹿の子班の焼出法
Firing method of *kanoko-han* (deer dapples) on brown glaze
60. 1898-1914 百華錦陶磁八重玩瑤紋製法
Yaeganyō-mon (?) on *hyakkanishiki* (polychrome overglaze) wares
61. 1898-1914 藍料青磁畫紋焼出製法
Firing method of designs on dark blue celadon
62. 1898-1914 薔薇色釉陶磁練成焼出法
Firing method of kneaded ceramics with *barairo-yū* (rose colour glaze)
63. 1898-1914 薔薇色釉下白料描入焼出法
Firing method of white designs under *barairo-yū* (rose colour glaze)
64. 1898-1914 薔薇色釉下綠色及黄色描入法
Firing method of green and yellow designs under *barairo-yū* (rose colour glaze)
65. 1898-1914 紫磁其他各色磁結晶焼出法
Firing method of crystals on purple and various coloured porcelain
66. 1898-1914 櫻花釉磁朝日隈焼出法
Firing method of morning sun's shade on *ōkayū-ji* (porcelain with cherry blossom colour glaze)
67. 1897-1914 櫻花釉に諸色畫紋描入焼出法
Firing method of various coloured paintings and designs with *ōka-yū* (Cherry blossom glaze)
68. 1897-1914 日本晴快清瑠製磁煉成法

- Kneading method of *Nihon seikai shinkōsei-ji* (Japanese clear-sky pure-light style porcelain)
69. 1897-1914 金華泰陶磁煉成焼出製法
Kneading method of *kinkatai* (large golden flower) wares
70. 1897-1914 大海色磁煉成製出法
Kneading method of *daikaishoku-ji* (great ocean colour porcelain)
71. 1897-1914 朱竹琰白磁描入焼出法
Firing method of red bamboo on white porcelain cup
72. 1897-1914 紅梅均白磁嵌入焼出法
Firing method of *kōbai* (red plum) *kinpaku-ji* (?)
73. 1897-1914 國華泰陶磁煉成製法
Kneading method of *kokkatai* (large national flower) style wares

Appendix 1-2:

Gross Sales of Export Ceramics



1868	1869	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
23,000	5,000	26,000	22,000	46,000	116,000	109,000	113,000	74,000
1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883	1884
74,000	121,000	169,000	307,000	475,000	711,000	579,000	544,000	526,000
1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891	1892	1893
695,000	1,002,000	1,311,000	1,295,000	1,450,000	1,246,000	1,287,000	1,480,000	1,577,000
1894	1895	1896	1897	1898	1899	1900	1901	1902
1,485,000	1,955,000	1,975,000	1,819,000	1,991,000	2,181,000	2,472,000	2,492,000	2,462,000

(Fujioka 1962, appendix p. 4.)

Appendix 1-3: Reports on experiments of the Kyoto City Ceramic Research Centre
requested by Seifū Yohei III

In 1900 (Meiji 33)

ソバ釉（磁器本窯）試験 Soba glaze (high-fired kiln)

赤色陶器下絵ノ具試験 Underglaze red glaze

黒色磁釉試験 Black glaze for porcelain

In 1901 (Meiji 34)

色味試験依頼×3回 Test of glaze tones (three times)

In 1902 (Meiji 35)

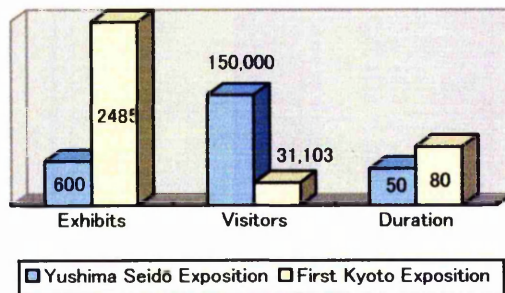
黒色繪具製法教示ノ件 For giving an instruction of the process of creating black glaze

In 1906 (Meiji 39)

粘土三種成分試験 Chemical analysis of three kinds of clay

(Kyoto Shiritsu Tōjiki Shikenjō 1898-1910.)

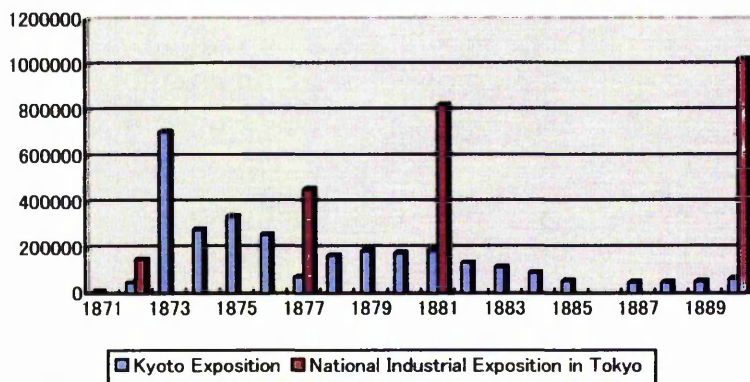
Appendix 2-1: Comparison between Yushima Seidō Exhibition and the First Kyoto Exhibition both held in 1872



1872 (Meiji 5)	Number of works	Number of visitors	Duration of the exposition (days)
Yushima Seidō Exhibition	600	150,000	50
First Kyoto Exhibition	2,485	31,103	80

(Kyoto-shi 1975, 129.)

Appendix 2-2: Number of visitors to the exhibitions in Kyoto, the Yushima Seidō Exhibition in Tokyo and the First to Third NIE in Tokyo

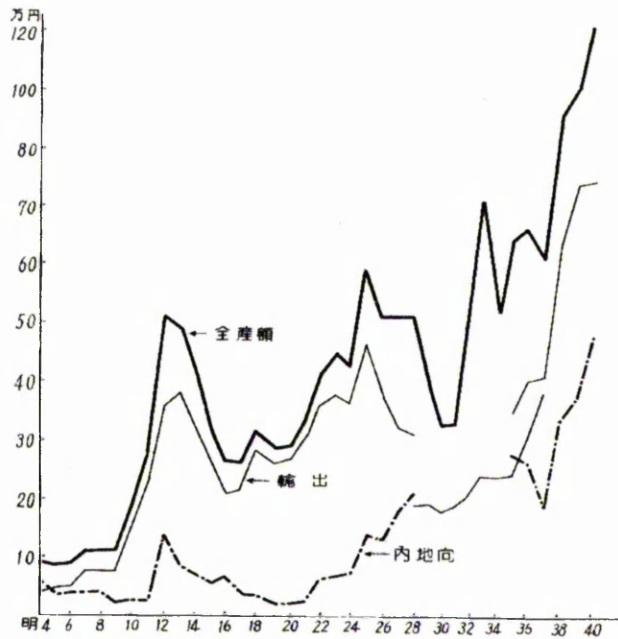


	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875	1876
Kyoto	11,211	47,710	706,057	280,702	337,137	257,954
Tokyo		150,000*				
1877	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882	1883
72,228	167,287	186,143	176,938	188,584	135,723	117,039
454,168				822,395		
1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889	1890
91,515	54,946		48,398	49,395	53,696	63,846
						1,023,693

*Tokyo in 1872 represents the number of visitors to the Yushima Seidō Exhibition. The chart is created from the records in: Kyoto-fu 1972, 731; Dai 3 kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai Jimukyoku 1891, and Nōshōmushō Hakurankai Gakari 1883.

Appendix 3-1: Gross sales of Kyoto ceramics divided between domestic and international sales

第三表の一 ○内地向、輸出向陶磁器生産比較（京都府計）

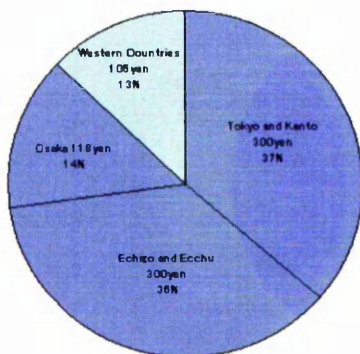


- 明4～28は京都府著名物産調査による。
- 同29～34は京都府統計概覧（全生産額）による。
- 同35～40は日本近世史要史による。
- 同28～37は京都府商業会議所（輸出）による。

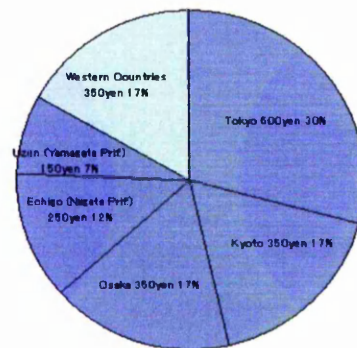
—— Total, —— International Sales, - - - - Domestic Sales

(Fujioka 1962, Appendix 6.)

Appendix 3-2: Gross sales of Takahashi Dohachi IV and Kiyomizu Rokubei IV in 1885 (Meiji 18) divided by destination



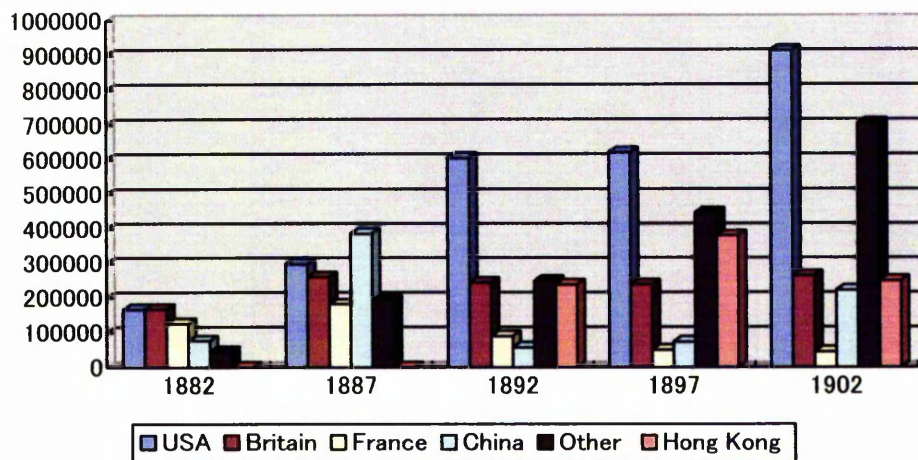
Takahashi Dōhachi IV



Kiyomizu Rokubei IV

(Nakanodō 1981, 36-43.)

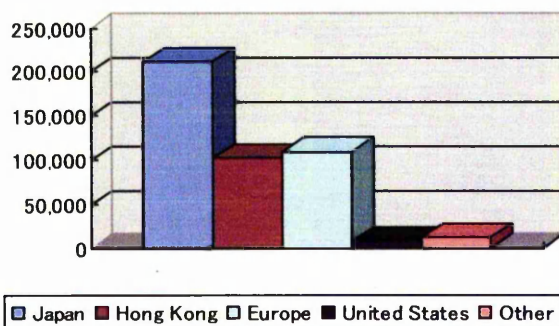
Appendix 3-3: Gross sales of Japanese export ceramics divided by destination (1882, 1887, 1892, 1897, 1902)



(yen)	1882	1887	1892	1897	1902
USA	166340	295586	604613	620376	913396
Britain	165741	259056	242988	237347	262678
France	125409	181102	88834	50327	45235
China	76043	385294	57900	73621	220875
Other	45108	190570	248080	445411	704372
Hong Kong	0	0	237008	378802	247882

(Hata 1997, 46.)

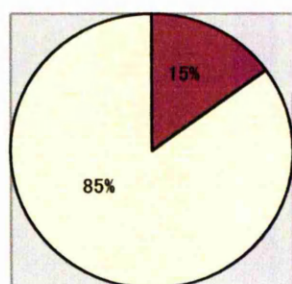
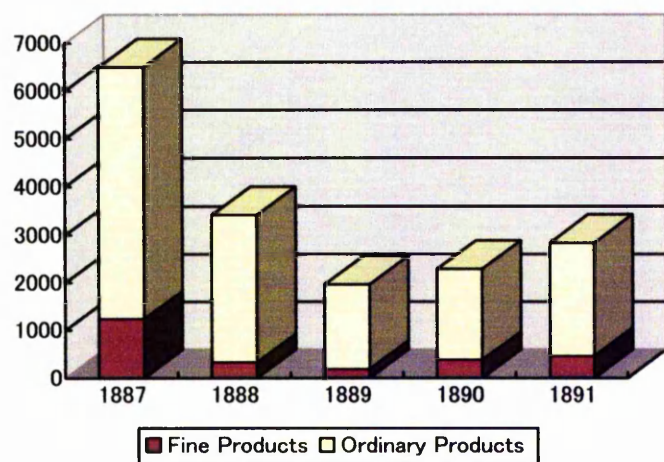
Appendix 3-4: Ceramic wares imported to China in 1902 divided by their place of production



Japan	212,425
Hong Kong	101,698
Europe	109,842
United States	7,885
Other	11,204

(Kitamura 1929, 359-360.)

Appendix 3-5: Ceramic wares imported to China divided by quality (in sets)

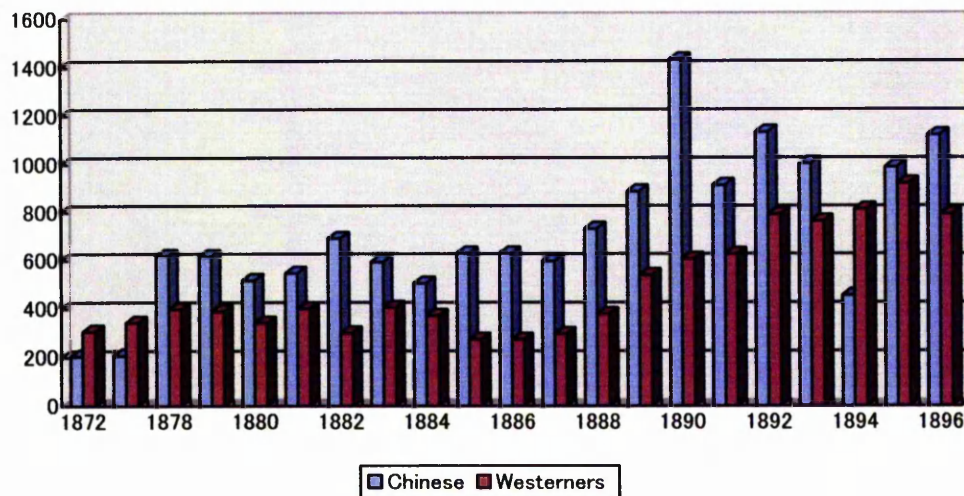


(sets)	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
Fine Products	1225	325	177	370	460
Ordinary Products	5271	3087	1785	1910	2370

(Arakawa 1892, p.68.)

Appendix 3-6

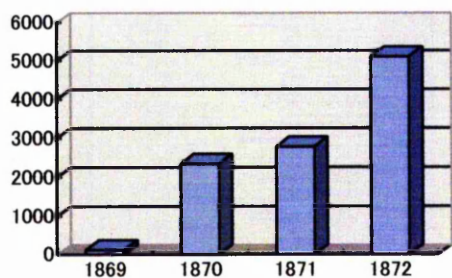
Population of foreign residents in Kobe



	1872	1873	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
Chinese	204	207	619	617	517	547	692
Westerners	306	342	397	389	341	400	299
	1883	1884	1885	1886	1887	1888	1889
Chinese	594	505	630	630	597	732	887
Westerners	405	371	273	273	296	378	539
	1890	1891	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896
Chinese	1433	913	1133	1004	455	988	1121
Westerners	606	626	791	763	813	920	791

(Nishijima 1993, 17.)

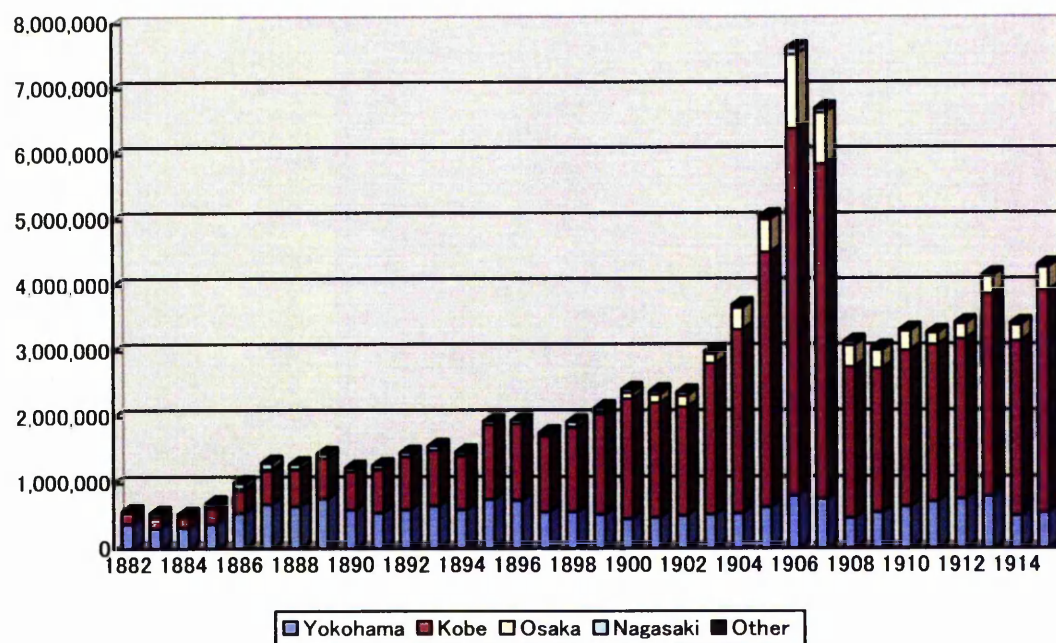
Appendix 3-7: Gross Sales of Export Ceramics through Kobe Port (1869-1872)



(yen)	1869	1870	1871	1872
Export sales	123	2334	2778	5102

(Kobe Bōeki Kyōkai 1968, 50.)

Appendix 3-8: Gross sales of export ceramics divided by trading port (1882-1915) (in yen)

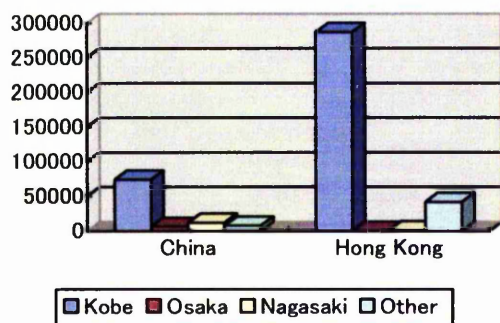


	Yokohama	Kobe	Osaka	Nagasaki	Hakodate	Monji	Other	Total
1882	378,085.44	169,236.70	2,205.22	29,213.18	0.75	0.00	0.00	578,641.29
1883	309,740.68	178,160.87	2,937.11	52,922.91	0.00	0.00	6.60	543,768.17
1884	322,513.21	165,210.46	7,772.68	29,611.56	2.50	0.00	822.70	525,933.11
1885	375,998.53	241,833.21	13,945.17	62,851.23	0.00	0.00	641.03	695,269.17
1886	545,802.41	334,518.20	36,641.43	85,101.78	0.00	0.00	320.60	1,002,384.42
1887	678,305.42	505,007.29	25,360.49	99,845.04	0.00	0.00	3,383.20	1,311,901.44
1888	644,399.74	555,786.97	9,306.52	80,823.35	0.00	0.00	4,999.71	1,295,316.29
1889	763,926.92	606,853.38	2,581.86	68,327.06	0.00	0.00	8,198.91	1,449,888.13
1890	595,007.84	575,502.96	2,842.50	56,703.16	0.00	0.00	15,900.30	1,245,956.76
1891	545,896.65	653,921.73	15,801.55	59,604.10	0.00	0.00	11,802.93	1,287,026.96
1892	592,586.02	805,532.30	3,280.09	60,078.43	0.00	0.00	18,934.16	1,480,411.00
1893	657,513.68	836,980.15	5,651.33	65,245.57	0.00	0.00	11,799.96	1,577,190.69
1894	589,430.17	824,253.80	5,044.26	56,246.43	20.00	0.00	9,859.18	1,484,853.84
1895	752,578.31	1,127,806.53	2,781.60	53,079.88	346.02	0.00	18,467.79	1,955,060.13
1896	733,426.99	1,163,717.34	2,712.60	52,512.80	294.50	0.00	22,189.88	1,974,854.11
1897	562,435.48	1,146,007.04	9,746.34	48,154.87	622.40	0.00	52,095.14	1,819,061.27
1898	557,495.59	1,280,010.48	16,837.95	74,125.33	734.00	0.00	61,577.58	1,990,780.93
1899	519,839.18	1,523,248.65	41,270.16	59,700.10	826.70	0.00	36,450.72	2,181,335.51
1900	454,750.17	1,821,719.51	90,377.58	56,120.37	1,011.00	0.00	47,925.58	2,471,904.21
1901	471,433.72	1,739,201.68	128,627.54	55,943.75	909.89	0.00	95,551.02	2,491,667.55
1902	507,361.72	1,641,346.59	177,678.43	54,254.24	1,683.77	0.00	79,219.30	2,461,544.05
1903	520,209.25	2,287,488.60	152,756.74	41,734.60	2,853.11	0.00	163,966.65	3,169,008.95
1904	533,255.19	2,798,457.14	330,690.40	40,089.99	0.00	0.00	170,528.68	3,873,021.40

1905	633,478.76	3,870,068.54	505,567.64	44,302.33	18.80	0.00	270,908.29	5,324,344.36
1906	800,756.00	5,589,685.00	1,133,693.00	94,508.00	4,669.00	0.00	319,616.00	7,942,927.00
1907	755,785.00	5,090,970.00	785,266.00	68,755.00	1,597.00	0.00	513,661.00	7,216,034.00
1908	464,997.00	2,290,142.00	327,445.00	58,291.00	1,075.00	0.00	1,936,272.00	5,078,222.00
1909	551,866.00	2,181,962.00	284,180.00	33,840.00	130.00	102,886.00	2,102,968.00	5,257,832.00
1910	640,502.00	2,367,585.00	301,345.00	18,030.00	606.00	69,997.00	2,115,858.00	5,513,923.00
1911	721,126.00	2,371,037.00	184,703.00	12,257.00	572.00	55,659.00	2,032,351.00	5,377,705.00
1912	760,176.00	2,421,763.00	236,927.00	17,191.00	112.00	52,829.00	1,962,715.00	5,451,713.00
1913	796,912.00	3,068,899.00	270,863.00	20,086.00	46.00	33,228.00	2,447,303.00	6,637,337.00
1914	500,943.00	2,649,298.00	250,817.00	20,595.00	204.00	35,031.00	2,456,880.00	5,913,768.00
1915	542,560.00	3,375,271.00	352,667.00	38,531.00	533.00	104,783.00	2,538,608.00	6,952,953.00

(Ökurashō 1990-94.)

Appendix 3-9: Gross sales of Japanese export ceramics to China and Hong Kong in 1900

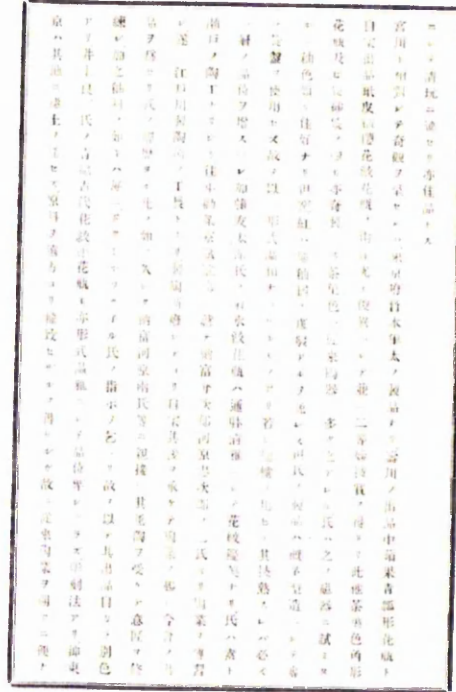
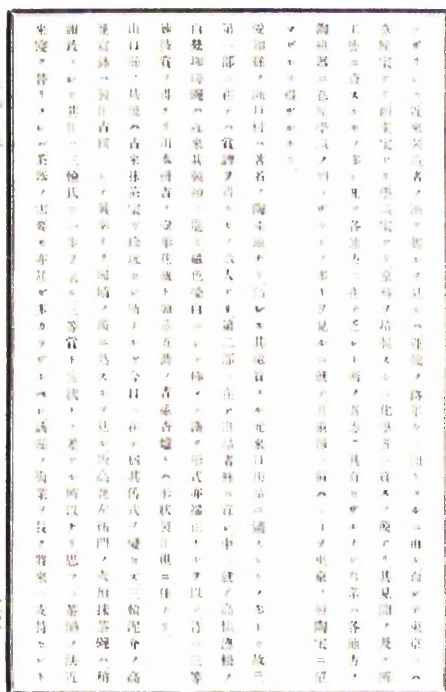


	China	Hong Kong
Kobe	73,914	286,677
Osaka	6,350	0
Nagasaki	12,313	664
Other	7,916	42,042

(Kitamura 1929, 364-365.)

Appendix 6-1: Examination report of the Third National Industrial Exhibition

[illegible][illegible][illegible]



(Meiji Bunken Shiryō Kankōkai 1974, 153-161.)

Appendix 6-2: List of Seifū Yohei III's works commissioned by the Imperial Household Agency or members of the Imperial family

1. *Hishoku-yō ryōjō-shiki kabin* 《秘色窯稜條式花瓶》
Vase with celadon glaze with carved stripes
2. *Taihaku-ji chōkoku kabin* 《太白磁彫刻花瓶》
White porcelain vase with carved design
3. *Tenmoku-yū unryūhan kabin* 《天目釉雲龍斑花瓶》
Vase with *tenmoku* glaze and pattern of dragon in clouds
4. *Ji botan seika-ga tsubo* 《磁牡丹青花畫壺》
Porcelain jar with underglaze blue decoration of peony
5. *Dai Nihon-shiki tenmoku-yū dai kabin* 《大日本式天目釉大花瓶》
Great Japan style large vase with *tenmoku* glaze
6. *Dai Nihon-shiki seiji dai kabin* 《大日本式青磁大花瓶》
Great Japan style large porcelain vase with celadon glaze

7. *Dai Nihon-shiki ōka-yū dai kabin* 《大日本式櫻花釉大花瓶》
Great Japan style large vase with cherry blossom glaze
 8. *Hongama ōji kabin* 《本窯黃磁花瓶》
Porcelain vase with high-fired yellow glaze
 9. *Hinode-yū chōga kabin* 《日之出釉彫畫花瓶》
Vase with rising sun glaze with carved design
 10. *Kyoku-sai yamazakura yūshō-zu dai kabin* 《旭彩山櫻優勝圖大花瓶》
Large vase with morning sun glaze with relief decoration of birds and mountain cherry blossoms
 11. *Hisyoku-ji chōga dai kabin* 《秘色磁彫畫大花瓶》
Large porcelain vase with celadon glaze and carved decoration
 12. *Hongama kōkin kanae kōro* 《本窯璜玕鼎香爐》
Ding-shaped porcelain incense burner with high-fired yellow glaze
 13. *Chayō-ji yūwanko-shiki kabin* 《茶葉磁遊琬壺式花瓶》
Porcelain vase with tea leaf glaze in the style of *yūwanko*
- Commissioned by the Crown Prince (Emperor Taishō or Emperor Shōwa)
14. *Tsukiyoi seiji kabin* 《月宵青磁花瓶》
Vase with evening moon celadon glaze
 15. *Seika-ji ochaki kakushu* 《青花磁御茶器各種》
Various porcelain tea wares with underglaze blue decoration
- Commissioned by the Household of Prince Arisugawa
16. *Tō-sei Jurōjin-zō okimono* 《陶製壽老人像置物》
Stoneware figure of Jurōjin
 17. *Gyōkō-saiji suisen-bori kabin* 《曙光彩磁水仙彫花瓶》
Porcelain vase with dawn glaze with carved design of narcissus
- Commissioned by the Household of Prince Fushimi
18. *Seika kachō-ga dai kabin* 《青華花鳥畫大花瓶》
Large porcelain vase with underglaze blue birds and flowers

(Watanabe 1930, 18.)

Appendix 6-3: List of Seifū Yohei III's works purchased at exhibitions by the Imperial Household Agency

Chicago World Colombian Exposition in 1893 (Meiji 28)

19. *Taihaku-ji botan-bori iri tō kabin* 《太白磁牡丹彫入陶花瓶》
White vase with carved peony design

20. *Aka-ji ginbuta tsuki tō kōro* 《赤地銀蓋付陶香炉》
Red incense burner with silver lid

日本美術協会春季美術展覧会

Japan Art Association Art Exhibition, Spring Term, in 1894 (Meiji 27)

21. *Seika gyoga enkei bachi* 《青華魚画円形鉢》
Round-shaped bowl with underglaze blue fish design

22. *Taihaku-ji kanryō-gata kabin* 《太白磁柑稜形花瓶》
White porcelain vase in the shape of *kanryō* (?)

23. *Jiki-sai kakitsubata kabin* 《磁器彩燕子花瓶》
Porcelain vase with iris design

第四回内国勸業博覧会

NIE IV in 1895 (Meiji 28)

24. *Hakuji seigaiha kaiga kabin* 《白磁青海波貝畫花瓶》
White porcelain vase with design of wave and shellfish

25. *Nihon-shiki seiji kabin* 《日本式青磁花瓶》
Japanese style vase with celadon glaze

日本美術協会春季美術展覧会

Japan Art Association Art Exhibition, Spring Term, 1896 (Meiji 29)

26. *Ji-sei ōka-mon kabin* 《磁製桜花紋花瓶》
Porcelain vase with cherry blossom design

第三回新古美術品展覧会

The Third Exhibition of Art Works both New and Old in 1897 (Meiji 30)

27. *Kanpaku-ji basyō-bori kabin* 《瑠白磁芭蕉彫花瓶》
Porcelain vase with *kanpaku-ji* glaze and carved of banana leaf

第四回新古美術品展覧会

The Fourth Exhibition of Art Works both New and Old in 1898 (Meiji 31)

28. *Seika botan moyō jiki tsubo* 《青華牡丹模様磁器壺》
Porcelain jar with underglaze blue peony design

京都美術協会臨時展覧会

Kyoto Art Association Special Exhibition for the visit of the Crown Prince in 1898

29. *Tsukiyoi seiji botan chōga kabin* 《月宵青磁牡丹彫画花瓶》

Porcelain vase with evening moon glaze and carved peony design

第五回新古美術品展覧会

The Fifth Exhibition of Art Works both New and Old in 1899 (Meiji 32)

30. *Seiji dai kōro* 《青磁大香炉》

Large porcelain incense burner with celadon glaze

第六回新古美術品展覧会

The Sixth Exhibition of Art Works both New and Old in 1900 (Meiji 33)

31. *Soba-yū jiki kabin* 《蕎麦釉磁器花瓶》

Porcelain vase with soba-coloured glaze

日本美術協会第三十五回美術展覧会

The Thirty-fifth Japan Art Association Art Exhibition in 1904 (Meiji 37)

32. *Akebono-saiji chōshun-bori kabin* 《曙彩磁長春彫花瓶》

Porcelain vase with dawn glaze with carved design of long spring

日本美術協会第三十七回美術展覧会

The Thirty-seventh Japan Art Association Art Exhibition in 1905 (Meiji 38)

33. *Kyoku-sai yamazakura kabin* 《旭彩山桜花瓶》

Vase with morning sun glaze of mountain cherry blossom

第十八回新古美術品展覧会

The Eighteenth Exhibition of Art Works both New and Old in 1913 (Taishō 2)

34. *Kohaku-ji tobi-yū kanae-shiki dai kōro* 《琥珀磁飛釉鼎式大香炉》

Ding-shaped large porcelain incense burner with amber glaze and black spots

(Okamoto 2007, 63-66.)

Appendix A: List of Japanese and Chinese words

Agano Shūzō	上野周造
Aichi	愛知
Aizu	会津
Akaji tsubo	《赤地壺》
Akō	赤穂
Amagi	天城
Amakusa	天草
An Shi (Ch.)	安史
An'ei	安永
Anhui (Ch.)	安徽
Ansei	安政
Arakawa Mitsugu	荒川巳次
Arisugawa no miya Takahito shinnō	有栖川宮熾仁親王
Arisugawa no miya Taruhito shinnō	有栖川宮熾仁親王
Arita	有田
Arita-yaki	有田焼
Asahi-yaki	旭焼
Asahi-yaki	朝日焼
Asai Chū	浅井忠
Asakusa	浅草
Asano Nagayoshi	浅野長祚
Ashikaga	足利
Asukai Kōtarō	飛鳥井孝太郎
Awa	阿波
Awata	粟田
Awataguchi	粟田口
Awata-yaki	粟田焼
Ayabe	綾部
Azuchi-Momoyama	安土桃山
Azuma-yaki	吾妻焼
Bai Juyi (Ch.)	白居易
Baihin	梅賓
Baiei	梅溪
Baisaō	壳茶翁
Baisaō Kōyūgai	壳茶翁高遊外
bakufu	幕府
Banko	萬古
banryū	蟠龍
Bao Xiangshun (Ch.)	寶祥順
basara	婆娑羅
Bicchū Matsuyama	備中松山
Bishū	尾州
Bizen	備前
Boku Rikō	朴利行
Bo Yunlong (Ch.)	傅雲竜
Botan ranji kōro	《牡丹藍地高燵》
bu	分
bugyō	奉行

Bungo	豊後
bunjin	文人
Bunjinga	文人画
Bunka	文化
Bunka Kunshō	文化勲章
Bunkyū	文久
Bunroku Keichō no eki	文禄・慶長の役
Bunsei	文政
Chage (Ch.)	茶歌
Chang Hao (Ch.)	張浩
Changhua (Ch.)	成化
Changsha (Ch.)	長沙
chanoyu	茶の湯
chasei	茶聖
chashinko	茶心壺
chasoku	茶則
chawan	茶碗
Chen Jialin (Ch.)	陳家麟
Chen Manshou (Ch.)	陳曼寿
Chen Yiqing (Ch.)	沈翊清
Chen Yizhou (Ch.)	陳逸舟
Chikuden-sō	竹田荘
Chin Jukan XII	十二代沈壽官
Chion-in	知恩院
Chiyoda-ku	千代田区
Chen Yiqing (Ch.)	沈翊清
Chōfu	長府
Chōjirō	長次郎
Chōkian Giryō	長喜庵義亮
Chongqing (Ch.)	重慶
Chōshū	長州
Chūgai bukka shinpō	中外物価新報
Cixi (Ch.)	慈溪
Dai 1 kai Kyōto Hakurankai	第一回京都博覧会
Dai 1 kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai	第一回内国勲業博覧会
Dai 2 kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai	第二回内国勲業博覧会
Dai 3 kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai	第三回内国勲業博覧会
Dai 4 kai Naikoku Kangyō Hakurankai	第四回内国勲業博覧会
Daigaku Nankō	大学南校
Daigo Sanpōin	醍醐三宝院
daimyō	大名
Daisanji	大参事
Daishō-ji	大聖寺
Daiten Kenjō	大典顕常
Dajō daijin	太政大臣
Dapu	大埔
Date	伊達
Date Munenari	伊達宗城
Date Munetada	伊達宗紀
Date Yasuke	伊達弥助

<i>denshūsei</i>	伝習生
Ding (Ch.)	定
<i>donburi</i>	丼
Dōshisha	同志社
Ebisei	海老清
<i>eboshi</i>	烏帽子
Ecchū	越中
Edo	江戸
Edo Banko	江戸萬古
Edogawa Seitōjo	江戸川製陶所
Eiraku Hozen	永樂保全
Eiraku Wasen	永樂和全
Eiraku Zengorō	永樂善五郎
Eisai	榮西
Ennōsai	円能斎
Enpō	延宝
Enryaku	延暦
Etō Shinpei	江藤新平
<i>fahua</i> (Ch.)	法花
<i>fencai</i> (Ch.)	粉彩
Feng Yun (Ch.)	馮雲
Fujian (Ch.)	福建
Fujie Eikō	藤江永孝
Fujimihara	富士見原
Fukaumi Suminosuke	深海墨之助
<i>fukoku kyōhei</i>	富国強兵
Fukuoka	福岡
Fukushima Masabei	福島政兵衛
Fukuzawa Yukichi	福沢諭吉
Fumon-ji	普門寺
Furiki	フリキ
Furuta Oribe	古田織部
Fushimi	伏見
<i>Fushimi bugyō</i>	伏見奉行
Fushimi-yaki	伏見焼
<i>futamono</i>	蓋物
<i>Gaikoku bugyō</i>	外国奉行
Gakushuin	学習院
Gansuian	含翠園
Ge (Ch.)	哥
Genbun	元文
Gengensai	玄々斎
<i>Genrōin</i>	元老院
Genroku	元禄
Gifu	岐阜
Gifu-ken Tōjiki Kōshūjo	岐阜県陶磁器講習所
Yixing (Ch.)	宜興
Gion	祇園
Gohin Kyōshinkai	五品共進会
<i>gohon</i>	御本

<i>gohon tachizuru</i>	御本立鶴
Gojōzaka	五条坂
Gojōzaka-yaki	五条坂焼
Gokei	五溪
Gong Qinwang (Ch.)	恭親王
Guan (Ch.)	官
Guangdong (Ch.)	広東
Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan (Ch.)	国立故宫博物院
Guze Kannon	救世観音
<i>Gyokukōzan</i>	玉光山
Gyokusen-ji	玉泉寺
Gyōzan Chūbei	曉山忠兵衛
Hagi-yaki	萩焼
<i>haihan chicken</i>	廃藩置県
Hakodate	函館
Hakuaisha	博愛社
Hakubutsukyoku	博物館
<i>Hakuji mizusashi</i>	《白磁水指》
<i>Hakuji rōka-mon kabin</i>	《白磁櫻花紋花瓶》
Hakurankai	博览会
Hakurankai Jimukyoku	博览会事務局
Hamagurigomon	蛤御門
Hamao Arata	濱尾新
Han	藩
Hanabusa Ichō	英一蝶
Handan (Ch.)	邯鄲
Handen	半田
Hangzhou (Ch.)	杭州
Hara Tomitarō (Sankei)	原富太郎 (三溪)
Hara Zaisen	原在泉
Haerbin (Ch.)	哈爾濱
Harima	播磨
Harisu Rikagaku Gakkō	ハリス理化学学校
Haruna Shigeharu	春名繁春
Hashimoto Gahō	橋本雅邦
Hasunoike	蓮池
Hata Zōroku	秦蔵六
<i>hatamoto</i>	旗本
Hattori Kyōho	服部杏圃
Hayakawa Shōkosai	早川尚古斎
He Ruzhang (Ch.)	何如璋
Hebei (Ch.)	河北
Heisei	平成
Henan (Ch.)	河南
Heng Qisheng (Ch.)	恒堂盛
Hiei	比叡
Higashi Honganji	東本願寺
Higashikuze Michitomi	東久世通禧
Higashiyama	東山
Higuchi Hideo	樋口秀雄

Hijikata Hisamoto	土方久元	Ingen Ryūki (Ch. Yinyuan Longqi)	隱元隆琦
Hikone	彦根	Inoue Kiyonao	井上清直
Himeji	姫路	Inoue Masanobu	井上正信
hin	品	Inoue Ryōsai	井上良齋
hin'i	品位	Inoue Takanosuke	井上孝之助
Hine Taizan	日根対山	Irie Dōsen III	三代入江道仙
Hinka seihyō gata kabin	《蘋果青瓢形花瓶》	Irie Kenzan	入江乾山
hinkaku	品格	Ise	伊勢
Hirano Kōsuke	平野耕輔	Ishikawa	石川
Hirooka Ihei	廣岡伊兵衛	Ishikawa Kenritsu Senmon Gakkō	石川県立専門学校
Hirota Fukosai	広田不孤斎	Ishikawa Kōgyō Gakkō	石川工業学校
Hitachi daijō	常陸大掾	Ishikawa Mitsuaki	石川光明
Hizen	肥前	Ishikawaken Kōgyō Gakkō	石川県工業学校
Hizen Tsuji-sei	肥前辻製	Ishiyakushi	石薬師
Hōei	宝永	Ishiyamadera	石山寺
Hōgen	方巖	Itaya Hazan	板谷波山
Hon'ami Kōetsu	本阿弥光悦	Itō Hirobumi	伊藤博文
Honda Tadachika	本多忠鄰	Itō Jakuchū	伊藤若冲
Honda Tadaoki	本多忠居	Itō Tōzan	伊東陶山
Hōreki	宝曆	Iwakura Tomomi	岩倉具視
Hōrin Jōshō	鳳林承章	Iwakurayama	岩倉山
Hōryū-ji	法隆寺	Iwasaki Yanosuke	岩崎彌之助
hoshu	捕手	Iyo	伊予
Hosokawa Moritatsu	細川護立	Izu	伊豆
Hotta Masayoshi	堀田正睦	Izushi	出石
Hōzan Bunzō	寶山文蔵	Jiajing (Ch.)	嘉慶
Hōzan	宝山	Jian (Ch.)	建
Huangbo (J. Ōbaku)	黄檗	Jiangsu (Ch.)	江蘇
Hunan (Ch.)	湖南	Jiangxi (Ch.)	江西
Hyakkanishiki	百花錦	Jingdezhen (Ch.)	景德鎮
Hyōchi-en	瓢池園	Jōmon	縄文
Hyōgo	兵庫	Jōwa	承和
Ibaraki	茨城	Jūjutsu	柔術
Ichiki Shirō	市木四郎	Jūyō mukei bunkazai hojisha	重要無形文化財保持者
Ichimonjiya Chūbei	一文字屋忠兵衛	Kaei	嘉永
Idemitsu Bijutsukan	出光美術館	Kaga	加賀
Igi Tadazumi (San'ensai)	伊木忠澄 (三猿斎)	Kaga-han	加賀藩
igo	囲碁	Kagawa-ken Kōgei Gakkō	香川県工芸学校
Ii Naoaki	井伊直亮	Kagiya	鍵屋
Ii Naomasa	井伊直政	Kagoshima	鹿児島
Ii Naonaka	井伊直中	Kairakuen	偕樂園
Ii Naosuke	井伊直弼	Kairakuen-yaki	偕樂園焼
Iida Shinshichi	飯田新七	kamakabu	窯株
Ike no Taiga	池大雅	Kamakura	鎌倉
Ikeda Takatoshi	池田孝寿	Kameyama	亀山
Imado	今戸	kami	守
Imado-yaki	今戸焼	Kamiya	《紙屋》
Imaizumi Yūsaku	今泉雄作	kamiyashiki	上屋敷
Imao Keinen	今尾景年	Kan'ei-ji	寛永寺
Imura Hikojirō	井村彦次郎	Kanagawa	神奈川

Kanazawa 金沢
 Kanazawa Kōkai Gakkō 金沢航海学校
 Kanazawa-ku Kōgei Gakkō 金沢区工芸学校
Kanbi Ishinjō 《関美怡神帖》
 Kangxi (Ch.) 康熙
 Kangyōryō Seitō Shiken Denshūjo 勸業寮製陶試験伝習所
 Kangyōryō 勸業寮
 Kanō Eitoku 狩野永恵
 Kanō Hōgai 狩野芳崖
 Kanō Naganobu (Isen'in) 狩野栄信 (伊川院)
 Kanō Natsuo 加納夏雄
 Kanō Osanobu (Seisen'in) 狩野養信 (晴川院)
 Kanō Tadanobu (Shōsen'in) 狩野雅信 (勝川院)
 Kanō Tanyū 狩野探幽
 Kanō Tessai 加納鉄哉
 Kanō 狩野
Kanpaku dajōdaijin 関白太政大臣
Kanpakuji bashōbori kabin 《瑠白磁芭蕉影花瓶》
Kanpakuji chōkokuga kabin 《瑠白磁影刻画花瓶》
 Kansei 寛政
 Kansai 関西
 Kantō 関東
 Kanzan Denshichi 幹山傳七
karabitsu 唐櫃
karakusa 唐草
 Karigane-ya 雁金屋
kariginu 狩衣
kashibachi 菓子鉢
Kashima odorī 鹿島踊
 Kasuga 春日
 Katagiri Sekishū 片桐石州
 Katō Gosuke 加藤五輔
 Katō Tomotarō 加藤友太郎
 Katō Yōgorō 加藤与五郎
 Katō Yohachi 加藤與八
 Katobi-kai 佳都美会
 Katsura no miya 桂宮
 Katsura no miya Sumiko naishinnō 桂宮淑子内親王
 Kawagoe 川越
 Kawahara Chūjirō 川原忠次郎
 Kawahara Keiga 川原慶賀
 Kawahara Noritatsu 河原徳立
 Kawakami Tōgai 川上冬崖
 Kawamoto Masukichi 川本曄吉
 Kawanabe Kyōsai (Gyōsai) 河鍋曉斎
 Kawase Hideji 河瀬秀治
 Kawata 川田
 Kazu no miya Chikako naishinnō 和宮親子内親王
 Ke 柯
 Keiō gijuku 慶應義塾

Keiō 慶應
 Keiō Gijuku 慶應義塾
 Kennin-ji 建仁寺
 Kenzan 乾山
 Kichizaemon 吉左衛門
 Kido Takayoshi 木戸孝允
kikan 奇観
 Kikkō Shōgetsu 吉向松月
 Kikkō-yaki 吉向焼
 Kikuchi Hōbun 菊池芳文
Kikusumon kabin 《菊水紋花瓶》
 Kikutani 菊谷
 Kimura Kenkadō 木村兼葭堂
 Kimura Masujirō 木村益次郎
 Kin'undō 錦雲堂
 Kinkaku-ji 金閣寺
 Kinkodō Kamesuke 欽古堂亀祐
 Kinkōzan Sōbei 錦光山宗兵衛
 Kinoshita Itsuun 木下逸雲
kinrande 金欄手
 Kinuya Hanbei 絹屋半兵衛
kirin (Ch. *qilin*) 麒麟
 Kiryūkōshōgaisha 起立工商会社
 Kishi Kōkei 岸光景
 Kishū 紀州藩
 Kishū Tokugawa ke 紀州徳川家
 Kitamura Yaichirō 北村彌一郎
 Kiyomizu Gojō 清水五条
 Kiyomizu Miyo 清水みよ
 Kiyomizu Rokubei 清水六兵衛
 Kiyomizu Shichibei 清水七兵衛
 Kiyomizu-yaki 清水焼
 Kiyota Shunpei 清田俊平
Kizokuin 貴族院
 Kō Fuyō 高芙蓉
 Kō Yūgai 高遊外
 Kobayashi Kiyochika 小林清親
 Kobayashi Kokei 小林古径
 Kōbe 神戸
 Kōbe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 神戸市立博物館
 Kobikichō Kanō 木挽町狩野
 Kōbori Enshū 小堀遠州
 Kōbu Bijutsu Gakkō 工部美術学校
kōchi 交趾
 Kochūkyō 壺中居
 Kōdō 香道
 Kōei Kachūtei 光英華中亭
 Kōshikawa 小石川
 Koizumi 小泉
 Kōka 弘化

Kokkai Toshokan	国会図書館	Kyōto-fu Gagakkō	京都府画学校
Kokugaku	国学	Kyōto-fu Kangyōjō Goyōgakari	京都府勸業場御用掛
Kikuritsu Kindai Bijutsukan	国立近代美術館	Kyōto-shi Bijutsu Hakurankai	京都市美術博覧会
Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan	国立公文書館	Kyōto-shi Bijutsu Kōgei Gakkō	京都市美術工芸学校
Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan	国立博物館	Kyōto-shi Bijutsu Kōgeihin Tenrankai	京都市美術工芸品展覧会
Koma	古満	Kyōto-shi Kōgei Zuan Chōseijo	京都市工芸図案調製所
Komatsu	小松	Kyōto-shi Kōgyō Bussankai	京都市工業物産会
Kōmoto Jihei	河本治平衛	Kyōto-yaki	京都焼
Komuro	小室	Kyōwa	享和
Kōno Bairei	幸野棹嶺	Kyō-yaki	京焼
Kōrakuen	後樂園	kyūhei	旧弊
Kōransha	香蘭社	Kyūkyodō	鳩居堂
Koseno Shōseki	巨勢小石	Kyushu	九州
kōtei	校訂	Li Baoquan (Ch.)	李寶詮
Kotō-yaki	湖東焼	Li Hongzhang (Ch.)	李鴻章
Koyama Sanzō	小山三造	Li Xiaopu (Ch.)	李筱圃
Kubo Toshiyo	久保利世	Li Yu (Ch.)	陸羽
Kubota Beisen	久保田米僊	Li Zongtang (Ch.)	李宗棠
Kugai Masanori	久貝正典	Liang Wenwan (Ch.)	梁文玩
Kuki Ryūichi	九鬼隆一	Liaoning (Ch.)	遼寧
Kumagai Naotaka	熊谷直孝	Lin Bu (Ch.)	林逋
Kumamoto	熊本	Ling Wenyuan (Ch.)	凌文淵
Kumano	熊野	Liu Yuxi (Ch.)	劉禹錫
Kunaichō Shōryōbu	宮内庁書陵部	Longquan (Ch.)	龍泉
Kunaichō Yōdoka	宮内庁用度課	Lu Tong (Ch.)	盧仝
Kunaishō kōgei'in	宮内省工芸員	Lu You (Ch.)	陸游
Kurimoto Suian	栗本翠庵	Maeda Chōdō (Handen)	前田暢堂 (半田)
Kuroda Tengai	黒田天外	Maeda Seison	前田青邨
Kusube Yaichi	楠部弥弑	Maeda-ke	前田家
Kutani	九谷	Maiko	舞子
Kutani hongama	九谷本窯	Makimura Masanao	槇村正直
Kuwayama Sōsen	桑山宗仙	Makuzubara	真葛原
Kyōbashi	京橋	Makuzu Chōzō	真葛長造
Kyōhō	享保	Makuzu-yaki	真葛焼
Kyokusai yamazakura yūshōzu kabin	《旭彩山櫻優勝圖花瓶》	Man'en	万延
Kyokusai-ji	旭彩磁	Manjudō	萬寿堂
Kyōto	京都	Manpuku Yōkō	萬福洋行
Kyōto Furitsu Sogō Shiryōkan	京都府立総合資料館	Manpuku-ji (Ch. Wanfu-su)	万福寺
Kyōto Gyoen	京都御苑	Marunaka Magohei	圓中孫平
Kyōto Hakurankaisha	京都博覧会社	Marusu Shōkai	満留壽商会
Kyōto Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan	京都国立博物館	Maruyama	圓山
Kyōto Kōtō Kōgei Gakkō	京都高等工芸学校	Maruyama Shijō	圓山四条
Kyōto Shiritsu Bijutsu Kōgei Gakkō	京都市立美術工芸学校	Mashimizu Zōroku	眞清水蔵六
Kyōto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku	京都市立芸術大学	Masuda Takashi	益田孝
Kyōto Shiritsu Tōjiki Shikenjō	京都市立陶磁器試験場	matcha	抹茶
Kyōto Shōkō Dōmeikai	京都商工同盟会	Matsukata Deflation	松方デフレ
Kyōto Teikoku Daigaku	京都帝国大学	Matsukata Masayoshi	松方正義
Kyōto Tōjiki Shikenjō	京都陶磁器試験場	Matsushiro	松代
Kyōto Tōjiki Shōkō Tatsumi Kumiai	京都陶磁器商工異組合	Meien zuroku	茗隠図録
Kyōto Tōki Gaisha	京都陶器会社	Meihō	鳴鳳

Meiji	明治
Meiwa	明和
<i>Meiyo ginpai</i>	名誉銀牌
<i>Meiyo ittōshō</i>	名誉一等賞
Meng Jianyi (Ch.)	孟諫議
Mie	三重
Mikawachi	三河内
Ming (J. Min)	明
Mino	美濃
<i>misu</i> (J. Hishōku)	秘色
Mito	水戸
Mitsubishi	三菱
Mitsuhide	光英
Mitsui Gofukuten	三井呉服店
Mitsui Takayoshi	三井高福
Miwa Deisuke	三輪泥助
Miyagawa Hannosuke	宮川半之助
Miyagawa Kōzan	宮川香山
Miyagi	宮城
Miyanaga Tōzan I	宮永東山
Miyazaki Shūta	宮崎修太
Mizushima-yaki	水嶋焼
Mochizuki Gyokusen	望月玉泉
Moku Bei	木米
Momoyama-yaki	桃山焼
Monbushō	文部省
Monbushō Bijutsu Tenrankai	文部省美術展覧会
Mori Kansai	森寛斎
Mori Ōgai	森鷗外
Mori Tetsuzan	森徹山
Mori Yūzan	森雄山
Morimoto Kōchō	森本後洞
Morimoto Tōkaku	森本東閣
Morizumi Tsurana	守住貫魚
Motoori Norinaga	本居宣長
Mu Chi (Ch.)	牧溪
Murata Shukō (Jukō)	村田珠光
Musashi	武蔵
Mushiage	蟲明
Mushiage-yaki	蟲明焼
<i>Mushikagoshiki kashiki</i>	《虫籠式菓子器》
<i>Myōgi ittōshō</i>	妙技一等賞
<i>Myōgi nitōshō</i>	妙技二等賞
Myōhōin no miya Norihito hosshinnō	妙法院宮教仁法親王
Myryōju-ji	無量寿寺
Nabeshima Naozumi	鍋島直澄
Nabeshima	鍋島
Naeshirogawa	苗代川
Naeshirogawa Tōki Gaisha	苗代川陶器会社
Nagasaki	長崎

Nagasaki Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan	長崎歴史文化博物館
Nagatani Sōen	永谷宗園
Nagatani Sōshichirō	永谷宗七郎
<i>Naidaijin</i>	内大臣
Naikaku-fu, Akasaka geihinkan	内閣府 (赤坂迎賓館)
Nakabashi Kanō	中橋狩野
Nakabayashi Chikkei	中林竹溪
Nakabayashi Chikutō	中林竹洞
Nakajima Raishō	中島来章
Nakajima Yūshō	中島有章
Nakamura Hōchū	中村芳中
Nakanishi Kōseki	中西耕石
<i>Nakaoku okoshō</i>	中奥御小姓
Nakatsu	中津
Nakazawa Iwata	中澤岩太
Namikawa Sōsuke	濤川惣助
Namikawa Yasuyuki	並河靖之
Nanga	南画
Nanki otokoyama	南紀男山
Nanzen-ji	南禅寺
Nara	奈良
Narushima Ryūhoku	成島柳北
netsuke	根付
Nezu Bijutsukan	根津美術館
Nichibei shūkō tsūshō jōyaku	日米就航通商条約
Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai	日本美術協会
Nihon Bijutsu Kyōkai Shunki Bijutsuten	日本美術協会春季美術展
Nihon Keizai Shinbun	日本経済新聞
Nihon Menka Kabushiki Gaisha	日本綿花株式会社
Nihon Nanga Kyōkai	日本南画協会
Nihon Tōryō Kabushikigaisha	日本陶料株式会社
Nihonbashi	日本橋
<i>Nihonga</i>	日本画
Ninkō	仁孝
Ninnami Dōhachi	仁阿弥道八
Ninna-ji	仁和寺
<i>Ningen kokukō</i>	人間国宝
Ninkō	仁孝
Nishi Hongan-ji	西本願寺
Nishida Ihachi	西田伊八
Nishijin	西陣
Nishimura Sōzaemon	西村總左衛門
Niuzhuang (Ch.)	牛庄
Noguchi Yūkoku	野口幽谷
Nomura Bunkyo	野村文挙
Nonomura Ninsei	野々村仁清
Noro Kaiseki	野呂介石
Nōtomi Kaijirō	納富介次郎
Nukina Kaioku	貫名海屋
Numata Ichiga	沼田一雅

<i>nunome</i>	布目	Rai Atsushi (Shihō)	賴復 (支峯)
Ōbaku	黄檗	Rai Sanyō	賴山陽
Oda Kaisen	小田海僊	Raku Kichizaemon	樂吉左衛門
Oda Nobunaga	織田信長	Raku Tannyū	樂旦入
Oda Nobutada	織田信忠	<i>raku</i>	樂
Odaniya Tomokurō	小谷屋友九郎	Rakutōzan	洛東山
Ōeda Ryūhō	大枝流芳	<i>reishi</i>	靈芝
Ogata Kenzan	尾形乾山	Ren Bonian (Ch.)	任伯年
Ogata Kōrin	尾形光琳	<i>ri</i>	里
Ogata Shūhei	尾形周平	Riguan (Ch.)	日觀
Ogawa Kazumasa	小川一真	<i>Rikuu sencha zu</i>	《陸羽煎茶図》
Ōgimachi	正親町	Rinpa	琳派
Ōita	大分	Rinzai	臨濟
Ōjiyama	王地山	<i>Rōjū</i>	老中
Ōjoin	大書院	<i>Rōka hakuji kōro</i>	《櫻花白磁香炉》
Okada Hankō	岡田半江	Rokuon-ji	鹿苑寺
Okada Heikichi	岡田平橘	<i>Ruriro kabin</i>	《瑠璃色花瓶》
Okada Kōjo	岡田篁所	<i>ryō</i>	両
Okada Ryōhei	岡田良平	<i>Ryokuju Hōshō</i>	緑綬褒章
Okada Tokuhō	岡田得鳳	Ryōsai-yaki	良斎焼
Okakura Kakuzō	岡倉覚三	Ryōsen-ji	了仙寺
Okamoto Toyohiko	岡本豊彦	Ryūchi-kai	龍池會
Okazaki	岡崎	Ryūcatei Ransui	柳下亭嵐翠
Oku Randen	奥蘭田	Ryūmondō	竜文堂
Ōkubo Toshimichi	大久保利通	Saga	佐賀
Oku-chō	邑久町	Saga-ken Kōgyō Gakkō	佐賀県工業学校
Okuda Eisen	奥田頴川	Saichō	最澄
Ōkuma Shigenobu	大隈重信	Saka Kōraizaemon	坂高麗左衛門
Okumura Shōhachi	奥村庄八	Sakaki Hyakuzen	彭城百川
Ōkurashō	大蔵省	Sakiyama Rihei	崎山利平衛
Ōkurashō Shōmukyoku	大蔵省商務局	Sakura	佐倉
Ōmi	近江	Sakurada-mon	桜田門
Ōmiya	大宮	Sakuranomiya	桜ノ宮
Omote Senke	表千家	samurai	侍
Omuro	御室	Sanbōhonbu	参謀本部
Ono Zensuke	小野善助	San-gama	讃窯
<i>oribe</i>	織部	<i>Sangyōshi</i>	産業史
<i>Oribe-ryū</i>	織部流	Sanjō Sanetomi	三条実美
Ōsaka	大坂/大阪	<i>sankinkōtai</i>	参勤交代
<i>osendomairi</i>	御千度参り	Sanmojiya Kasuke	三文字屋嘉介
<i>Oshōnando</i>	御小納戸	Sannomaru Shōzōkan	三の丸尚蔵館
<i>Osoba goyōtoritsugi</i>	御側御用取次	Sano Tsunetami	佐野常民
Ōta Yoshihisa	太田能寿	Sano Tsunetatsu	佐野常樹
Ōtagaki Rengetsu	太田垣蓮月	Sanyasō	三夜荘
Otowa-yaki	音羽焼	<i>sara</i>	皿
Owari	尾張	Satsuma	薩摩
Ozaki	尾崎	Seibei	清兵衛
Penglai (J. Hōrai)	蓬莱	Seimon	清衛門
Qi (J. Sai)	齊	Seifū	清風
Qian Yi (Ziqin) (Ch.)	錢憚 (子琴)	Seifū Kuma	清風くま

<i>Seifu sōsai</i>	政府總裁	<i>Shinano no kami</i>	信濃守
<i>Seifū Yohei</i>	清風與平	<i>Shingon-in</i>	真言院
<i>seigaiha</i>	青海波	<i>Shinjuku</i>	新宿
<i>Seihin Gazu Gakari</i>	製品画図掛	<i>Shinkai Kanzan</i>	新開寛山
<i>Seiji botanga mizusashi</i>	《青磁牡丹畫水差》	<i>Shinkai Rokurō</i>	新開六郎
<i>Seiji daikōro</i>	《青磁大香炉》	<i>Shinkai Seizan</i>	新開清山
<i>Seiji Gaisha</i>	精磁会社	<i>Shinobazu</i>	不忍
<i>Seiji tobiyū kabin</i>	《青磁飛釉花瓶》	<i>Shinoda Shōsaku</i>	篠田正作
<i>Seika botan moyō jiki tsubo</i>	《青華牡丹模様磁器壺》	<i>Shinoyama</i>	篠山
<i>Seika kachō moyō kabin</i>	《青華磁花鳥模様花瓶》	<i>Shinozaki Shōchiku</i>	篠崎小竹
<i>Seika Shōkaku-ga Kabin</i>	《青華松鶴画花瓶》	<i>shinsha</i>	辰沙
<i>Seimikyoku</i>	舍密局	<i>Shinshō-ji</i>	真聖寺
<i>Seinan</i>	西南	<i>Shinshōren</i>	清商連
<i>Seisei sencha</i>	青製煎茶	<i>shinto</i>	新渡
<i>Seiwan chakai</i>	青湾茶会	<i>Shioda Makoto</i>	塩田真
<i>Seiwan chakai hi</i>	青湾茶会碑	<i>Shiodome</i>	汐留
<i>Seiwan</i>	青湾	<i>Shiokawa Bunrin</i>	塩川文鱗
<i>Seizan</i>	清山/晟山	<i>Shirai Zenjirō</i>	白井善次郎
<i>Seki Nyorai</i>	関如来	<i>Shirai Zenshichi</i>	白井善七
<i>Sekido-sha</i>	赤土社	<i>Shirakaba</i>	白樺
<i>Sekishū</i>	石州	<i>Shiseikan</i>	思齊館
<i>Sen no Rikyū</i>	千利休	<i>Shō Saiko</i>	小西湖
<i>Sen Sōshitsu</i>	千宗室	<i>shōgi</i>	将棋
<i>sen</i>	錢	<i>shōgun</i>	將軍
<i>sencha</i>	煎茶	<i>Shōhyō Tōrokujo</i>	商標登録所
<i>Sengoku</i>	戦国	<i>shoin</i>	書院
<i>Senke jissoku</i>	千家十職	<i>shō-kabin</i>	小花瓶
<i>Senshu no ma</i>	千種之間	<i>Shōken Kōtaigō</i>	昭憲皇太后
<i>Seto</i>	瀬戸	<i>Shōkoku-ji</i>	相国寺
<i>Seto Tōki Gakkō</i>	瀬戸陶器学校	<i>shokunin katagi</i>	職人氣質
<i>Setouchi-shi</i>	瀬戸内市	<i>shokusan kōgyō</i>	殖産工業
<i>Shanghai Bowuguan (Ch.)</i>	上海博物館	<i>shonzui</i>	祥瑞
<i>Shashi (Ch.)</i>	沙市	<i>Shōren-in no miya</i>	青蓮院宮
<i>Shibata Zeshin</i>	柴田是真	<i>Shōren-in</i>	青蓮院
<i>Shibayama Genshō</i>	柴山元昭	<i>Shoryō-bu</i>	書陵部
<i>Shiga Naoya</i>	志賀直哉	<i>Shōsai Ikkei</i>	昇齋一景
<i>Shiga</i>	滋賀	<i>Shōsōin</i>	正倉院
<i>Shigaraki</i>	信樂	<i>Shōwa</i>	昭和
<i>shikunshi</i>	四君子	<i>shu</i>	朱
<i>Shimazu Nariakira</i>	島津斉彬	<i>shun'i</i>	俊異
<i>Shimazu Narioki</i>	島津斉興	<i>Sichuan (Ch.)</i>	四川
<i>Shimazu Takahisa</i>	島津貴久	<i>Soba-yū jiki kabin</i>	《蕎麦釉磁器花瓶》
<i>Shimazu Yoshihiro</i>	島津義弘	<i>Sonnō jōi</i>	尊皇攘夷
<i>Shimizu Usaburō</i>	清水卯三郎	<i>Sonshin hosshinnō</i>	尊眞法親王
<i>Shimoda</i>	下田	<i>Sonpō shinnō</i>	尊寶親王
<i>Shimojō Masao</i>	下條正雄	<i>Su Shi (Ch.)</i>	蘇軾
<i>Shimooka Renjō</i>	下岡蓮杖	<i>Sūfuku-ji</i>	崇福寺
<i>shinhaku</i>	新舶	<i>Sugiura Seigai</i>	杉浦西崖
<i>Shin Ko Bijutsuten</i>	新古美術展	<i>Sumidagawa</i>	隅田川
<i>shin'ijin</i>	新意人	<i>Sumidagawa-yaki</i>	隅田川焼

Sumida-yaki	墨田焼	Tanzan Rokurō	丹山陸郎
Sūmitsuin	枢密院	Tanzan Seikai	丹山青海
sumō	相撲	Tateba	立場
Suwa Sozan	諏訪蘇山	Tawaraya Sōtatsu	俵屋宗達
Suzhou	蘇州	Tazaki Sōun	田崎草雲
Suzuki Hyakunen	鈴木百年	Teikoku Bijutsuin	帝国美術院
Suzuki Zuigen	鈴木瑞彦	Teikoku Hakubutsukan	帝国博物館
Taigadō Giryō	大雅堂義亮	<i>teishitsu gigei'in</i>	帝室技芸員
<i>Taihakuji botan horiiri tō kabin</i>	《太白磁牡丹彫入陶花瓶》	Tekisui Bijutsukan	滴翠美術館
<i>Taihakuji chōkoku kabin</i>	《太白磁彫刻花瓶》	<i>tencha</i>	点茶
<i>Taihiyū rōkamon kabin</i>	《玳瑁釉櫻花紋花瓶》	Tendai	天台
Taiping	太平	Tenju-an	天授庵
<i>Tairei-ji</i>	大礼磁	Tenmei	天明
<i>Tairō</i>	大老	<i>tenmoku</i>	天目
Taisho	大正	<i>Tenmokuyū unryūhan kabin</i>	《天目釉雲龍斑花瓶》
Taizan Yohei	帶山与平衛	Tenpō	天保
Tajimi	多治見	Tenshō	天正
Takagi Hiroshi	高木博志	<i>tensho</i>	篆書
Takahashi Dōhachi	高橋道八	Tetsuō	鉄翁
Takahashi Korekiyo	高橋是清	Tezuka Kamenosuke	手塚亀之助
Takahashi Yoshio (Sōan)	高橋義雄(籌庵)	Tianjin (J. Tenshin)	天津
Takahashi Yuichi	高橋由一	Tobe	砥部
Takamatsu	高松	<i>tobiseiji</i>	飛青磁
Takamura Kōtarō	高村光太郎	<i>tōcha</i>	闘茶
Takamura Kōun	高村光雲	Tōdai-ji	東大寺
Takamura Toyochika	高村豊周	Tōfuku-ji	東福寺
Takashima	高島	Tōjiki Chinretsujō	陶磁器陳列場
Takashina Shūji	高階秀爾	Tōjiki Seizōsho Shibu	陶磁器製造所支部
Takatori	高取	Tōjiki Shōkō Tatsumigumi	陶磁器商工異組
Takemoto Hayata	竹本隼太	<i>Tōju-kō</i>	陶壽紅
Takemoto Yōsai	竹本要齋	Tōki Bussankaisho	陶器物産会所
Takemoto-yaki	竹本焼	Tokoname-yaki	常滑焼
Takeno Jō'ō	武野紹鷗	<i>tokonoma</i>	床の間
Taketa	竹田	Tokugawa Harutomi	徳川治宝
Takeuchi Hisakazu	竹内久一	Tokugawa Iemitsu	徳川家光
Takeuchi Seihō	竹内栖鳳	Tokugawa Iemochi	徳川家茂
Taki Katei	滝和亭	Tokugawa Iesada	徳川家定
Tanaka Kakuō	田中鶴翁	Tokugawa Ietsuna	徳川家綱
Tanba Miyazu	丹波宮津	Tokugawa Ieyasu	徳川家康
Tanba	丹波	Tokugawa Nariyori	徳川斉順
Tanbayaki	丹波焼	Tokugawa Shigetomo	徳川重倫
Tang (Ch.)	唐	Tokugawa Yorinobu	徳川頼宣
Tango	丹後	Tokugawa Yoshinobu	徳川慶喜
Tani Bunchō	谷文晁	Tokugawa	徳川
Taniguchi Aizan	谷口藹山	Tokushima	徳島
Taniguchi Kōkyō	谷口香嶠	Tōkyō	東京
<i>Tankō-yū botan kabin</i>	《淡紅釉牡丹花瓶》	Tōkyō Bijutsu Gakkō	東京美術学校
Tanomura Chikuden	田能村竹田	Tōkyō Daigaku Rigakubu	東京大学理学部
Tanomura Chōkunyū	田能村直入	<i>Tōkyō etsuke</i>	東京絵付
Tanomura Shōko	田能村小虎	<i>Tōkyō kingama</i>	東京錦窯

Tōkyō Kōgyō Daigaku 東京工業大学
 Tōkyō Kokuritsu Hakubutsukan 東京国立博物館
 Tōkyō Senmon Gakkō 東京専門学校
 Tōkyō Shokkō Gakkō 東京職工学校
 Tomioka Tessai 富岡鉄斎
 Toruremuru Hey トルレムル・ヘー
 Tosa 土佐
 Tōsei Daiteitoku 東征大提督
 Toyama 富山
 Toyama-ken Kōgei Gakkō 富山県工芸学校
 Toyosuke 豊助
 Tōyōtōji kenkyū 東洋陶磁研究
 Toyotomi Hideyoshi 豊臣秀吉
 Tōzan-yaki 東山焼
 Tsuji Kakō 都路華香
 Tsuji Katsuzō 辻勝藏
 Tsuji Kiemon 辻喜右衛門
 Tsūsentei 通仙亭
 Tsuwano 津和野
 Ueda Akinari 上田秋成
 Ueda Toyokichi 植田豊橘
 Uemura Shōen 上村松園
 Ueno 上野
 Uji 宇治
 ukiyo-e 浮世絵
 Umehachi 梅鉢
 Umehara Ryūzaburō 梅原龍三郎
 Uobachi 《魚繪鉢》
 Uragami Gyokudō 浦上玉堂
 Uraku-ryū 有楽流
 Urasenke 裏千家
 Utagawa Kunitada 歌川国輝
 Utsumi Kichidō 内海吉堂
 Uwajima 宇和島
 wa kei sei jaku 和敬静寂
 wabi 侘び
 Waka no Ura 和歌浦
 Wakayama 和歌山
 Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan 和歌山市立博物館
 Wake Kitei 和気亀亭
 Wan Jukui (Ch.) 萬聚魁
 Wanfu-su (J. Manpuku-ji) 万福寺
 Wang Yangming (Ch.) 王陽明
 Wang Yemei (Ch.) 王冶梅
 Wanli (Ch.) 万曆
 Xiangcheng 項城
 Xiang Gang Zhongwen Daxue (Ch.) 香港中文大学
 Xihu (J. Saiko) 西湖
 Xingzhou (Ch.) 刑州
 Xinzheng (Ch.) 新郑

Yagi Issō 八木一帥
 Yahata 八幡
 Yamaguchi 山口
 Yamamoto Baiitsu 山本梅逸
 Yamamoto Kahei 山本嘉兵衛
 Yamamoto Ryūzan 山本龍山
 Yamamoto Shunkyo 山元春挙
 Yamamoto Soken 山本素軒
 Yamamoto Tatsunosuke 山本辰之助
 Yamamoto Yamanosuke 山本山之助
 Yamanaka Sadajirō 山中定次郎
 Yamashiro 山城
 Yamato 大和
 Yamato-e 大和絵
 Yamazaki 山崎
 Yanagisawa Kien 柳沢棋園
 Yasaka Kōun-kaku 八坂耕雲閣
 Yasuda Genshichi 安田源七
 Yasuda Yahei 保田弥平
 Yasuda Yasuemon 保田保右衛門
 Yasui monzeki 安井門跡
 Yasuke 弥助
 Yatsushiro 八代
 Yoda Gakkai 依田学海
 Yōdo-ka 用度課
 yōhen 窯変
 Yokohama 横濱
 Yokokawa Tamisuke 横川民輔
 Yōmeigaku 陽明学
 Yongzheng (Ch.) 雍正
 Yoshida Akifumi 吉田堯文
 Yoshida Shōin 吉田松陰
 Yoshitsugu Haizan 吉嗣拝山
 Yuan Shikai (Ch.) 袁世凱
 Yue (Ch.) 越
 Yūgakkai 由学館
 Yūgyokuen-yaki 友玉園焼
 Yumedono 夢殿
 yunomi 湯呑
 Yushima seidō 湯島聖堂
 Yushima 湯島
 Yūshūkan 遊就館
 Yūtōen 遊陶園
 yūzen 友禅
 Zen 禅
 Zeng Guofan (Ch.) 曹国藩
 Zengorō 善五郎
 Zeze 膳所
 Zhangzhou (Ch.) 漳州
 Zhejiang (Ch.) 浙江

Zhili zongdu (Ch.)

Zhou Chen (Ch.)

Zhu Shou (Ch.)

Zhu Yan (Ch.)

直隸總督

周臣

朱綬

朱淡

zisha (Ch.)

zuga

Zuishi

紫砂

圖畫

瑞芝

Appendix B: List of article and book titles

- ‘Awata-yaki Kiyomizu-yaki’ 「粟田焼清水焼」
- ‘Kōshitsuron’ 「皇室論」 (A Discourse on the Imperial Household)
- ‘Kyōto bijutsu enakushi’ 「京都美術沿革史」 (History of Art in Kyōto)
- ‘Kyōto to sono meikō ni tsuite’ 「京都と其名工に就て」 (Kyōto and its Artists)
- ‘Sandai Seifū Yohei ni kansuru ryakureki’ 「三代清風与平に関する経歴」 (Biography of Seifū Yohei III)
- ‘Seifū Yohei shi rireki’ 「帝室技藝員清風與平氏履歴」 (Biography of *Teishitsu gigei* in Mr Seifū Yohei)
- ‘Sonnōron’ 「尊皇論」 (Reverence for the Emperor)
- ‘Teishitsu no hogo o motte chokusetsu ni bijutsu kōgei o shōrei suruno hitsuyō o ronzu’ 「帝室ノ保護ヲ以テ直接ニ美術工芸ヲ奨励スルノ必要ヲ論ス」 (A Discussion of the Importance of Direct Support by the Imperial Household for the Encouragement of Arts and Crafts)
- ‘Yushutsu-hin no seisaku ni oyobosu kaigai no fūshū’ 「輸出品の制作上に及ぼす海外の風習」 (Foreign Customs for the Use of Designing Export Wares).
- Asano Shinbun* 『朝野新聞』 (Asano News Paper)
- Bai shi wen ji* 『白氏文集』 (Anthology of Mr. Bai)
- Baisao gego* 『売茶翁偈語』 (Memoir of Baisaō)
- Bankoku hakurankai no bijutsu* 『万国博覧会の美術』 (Arts of East and West from World Expositions)
- Bankoku hakurankai to kindai tōgei no reimei* 『万国博覧会と近代陶芸の黎明』 (The International exposition an the Dawn of Modern Japanese Ceramics)
- Bijutsu sōshi* 『美術叢誌』 (Art Journal)
- Bungo kokushi* 『豊後国史』 (History of Bungo)
- Bunmeikaika no yakimono, ōbei o fūbi shita Japonisme e: Meiji no yakimono* 『文明開化の焼物 欧米を風靡したジャポニスムへ 明治の焼物』 (Japonisme for the Western World: The Pottery of the Meiji Era)
- Cha jin* 『茶経』 (The Classic of Tea)
- Chōandō-ki* 『長閑堂記』 (Diary of Kubo Chōandō)
- Dai Nihon yōgyō kyōkai zasshi* 『大日本窯業協会雑誌』 (Journal of Great Japan Ceramic Industry Association)
- Dong cha wen jian lu* 『東槎聞見録』 (Personal Record of Travelling the East)
- Dong you ri ji* 『東游日記』 (Diary of Travelling the East)
- Fuken tōkienaku tōkōdentōshi* 『府県陶器沿革陶工伝統誌』 (History of Ceramics and Tradition of Potters Divided by Prefecture.)

Genshoku Nihon no bijutsu 15: tōjiki 1 『原色日本の美術 1 5 陶磁器 1』 (Arts of Japan with Coloured Illustration, vol. 15, Ceramic, vol. 1)

Heian tsūshi 『平安通史』 (History of Kyōto)

Hiesha shintō himitsu ki 『日枝社神道秘密記』 (Secret record of Hie Shrine)

Ikkaisairoku 『一家一彩録』 (Biographical Anthology of Famous People 2)

Itaya Hazan no shōgai: shugyoku no tōgei 『板谷波山の生涯 珠玉の陶芸』 (The Life of Itaya Hazan: Ceramics of Excellent Beauty)

Jidai o irodotta yakimono 『時代を彩った焼物』 (Ceramics Embellished the Meiji era)

Jiki seizō zasshi 『磁器製造雑誌』 (Instruction of Porcelain Production)

Kakumeiki 『隔冥記』 (the Diary of Hōrin Jōshō)

Kankozusetsu tōki no bu 『観古図説陶器之部』 (Illustrated Discourse of Ancient Objects: Ceramics)

Kanōkyōdōjii 『加能郷土辞彙』 (Dictionary of Kaga Province)

Katakiuchi sencha no hajimari 『復讐煎茶濫觴』 (Revenge: the Beginning of *Sencha*)

Kenkadō nikki 『兼葭堂日記』 (Diary of Kimura Kenkadō)

Kindai Nihon no kōgei 『近代日本の工芸』 (Crafts of Modern Japan)

Kindai no tōjiki to yōgyō 『近代の陶磁器と窯業』 (Modern Ceramics and Ceramic Industry)

Kindai tōji 『近代陶磁』 (Journal of Modern Ceramics)

Kindai tōjikyō no seiritsu 『近代陶磁器業の成立』 (Formation of Modern Ceramic Industry)

Kindai yōgyō no chichi: Gottfried Wagener to bankoku hakurankai 『近代窯業の父 ゴットフリート・ワグネルと万国博覧会』 (The Father of Modern Ceramics: Gottfried Wagener and the International Expositions)

Kinsei dōgu idōshi 『近世道具移動史』 (History of Transition of Tea Wares)

Kissa yōjō ki 『喫茶養生記』 (Tea for Good Health)

Kōbe-kō naigai shōka binran 『神戸港内外商家便覧』 (Guide of Japanese and foreign merchants in Kōbe Port)

Kokon kyōgama deichū kanwa 『古今京窯泥中閑話』 (Idle Talks about Kyōto Kilns of Old and New)

Kundaikan souchōki 『君台観左右帳記』 (Comments on Ashikaga Yoshimasa's Art Collection).

Kyōto bijutsu kyōkai zasshi 『京都美術協会雑誌』 (Journal of Kyōto Art Association)

Kyōto tōjiki setsu 『京都陶磁器説』 (Stoneware and Porcelain in Kyōto)

Kyō-yaki 100 nen no ayumi 『京焼百年の歩み』 (100 year History of Kyōto Ceramics)

Makuzu Miyagawa Kōzan ten: sekai o miryōshita Makuzu ware 『真葛宮川香山展 世界を魅了したマクズ・ウェア』 (Miyagawa Makuzu Kōzan: Makuzu Ware, Fascinated the World)

Meien hinmoku 『茗譚品目』 (Catalogue of *Sencha* Tea Gatherings)

Meiji bunkashi 『明治文化史』 (Cultural History of Meiji era)

Meiji no kyō-yaki 『明治の京焼』 (Kyōto Ceramics of the Meiji era)
Meiji no kyūchū dezain - Wa chū yō no yūwa o motomete 『明治の宮中デザイナー 和洋中の融和の美を求めて』 (*The Imperial Court Design – Searching for harmony between the Japanese, Chinese and Western styles*)
Meikarekihōroku 『名家歴訪録』 (Biographical Anthology of Famous People).
Miyagawa Kōzan to Yokohama Makuzu-yaki 『宮川香山と横浜真葛焼』 (Miyagawa Kōzan and Makuzu Ware from Yokomaha)
Nihon no tōji 『日本の陶磁』 (Ceramics of Japan)
Onchizuroku 『温知図録』
Ri ben ji you 『日本紀遊』 (Travelling Records of Japan)
Ri ben za ji 『日本雑紀』 (Story of Japan)
Seifū sagen 『清風瑣言』 (Trifling Stories of Pure Wind)
Seiwan chakai zuroku 『青湾茶会図録』 (Pictorial Record of Azure Sea Tea Gathering)
Seiwan sawa 『青湾茶話』 (Teatime Stories of the Azure Sea)
Sekihekifu 『赤壁賦』 (the Red Cliffs),
Sencha hayashinan 『煎茶早指南』 (Quick Lessons of *Sencha*)
Sencha ketsu 『煎茶訣』 (Secrets of *Sencha*)
Shi dong shu lue 『使東述略』 (Records of Visits to the East)
Shirakaba 『白樺』 (White Birch)
Taishō meikikan 『大正名器鑑』 (Examples of Famous Wares of the Taisho era)
Tao shuo 『陶説』 (Discussions of Ceramics)
Tōki benkai 『陶器辯解』 (Explanation of ceramics)
Tōki hyakuwa 『陶器百話』 (One Hundred Stories of Ceramics)
Torishirabesho 『取調書』 (Report of the Seifū Yohei Workshop).
Toshi to geijutsu 『都市と藝術』 (City and Art)
Umi o koeta Meiji: Europe ga aishita yakimono no bi 『海を越えた明治 ヨーロッパが愛した焼物の美』 (Meiji Art Beyond the Sea: the Beauty of Ceramics Favoured in Europe)
Umi o watatta Meiji no bijutsu 『海を渡った明治の美術』 (World's Columbian Exposition of 1893 Revisited: the Nineteenth Century Japanese Art Shown in Chicago, U.S.A.)
Yamanaka Sadajirōden 『山中定次郎傳』 (Life of Yamanaka Sadajirō)
You li Ri ben tu jing 『遊歴日本図経』 (Report of a Trip to Japan)

Figures

Introduction

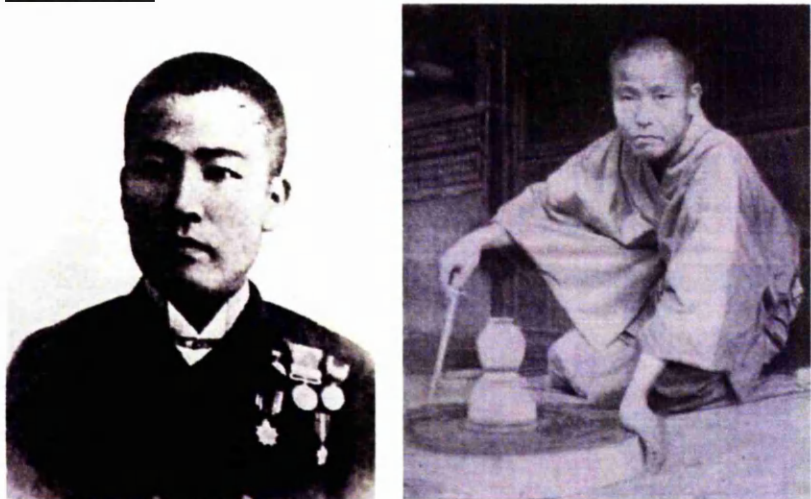


Figure i Seifū Yohei III. Left: Nakanodō 1985, 125, right: Scidmore 1898, 86.

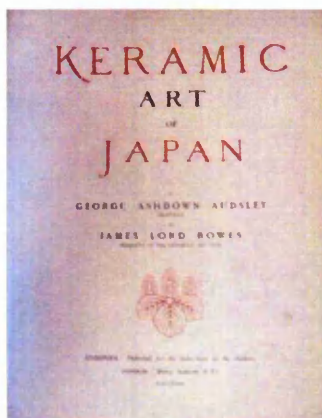


Figure ii George Ashdown Audsley and James Lord Bowes, *Keramic Art of Japan*. (Audsley 1881.)

Chapter One



Figure 1-1 Mashimizu Zōroku, *Kokon kyōgama deichū kanwa*. (Mashimizu 1935.)



Figure 1-2 *Umebachi* crest



Figure 1-3 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Bowl with chrysanthemum, 1847. Seal (inside footring): Kotoura 琴浦, signature (side): Mushiage ni oite Seifū zō 於虫明清風造 (made by Seifū at Mushiage). Stoneware with slip and polychrome overglaze enamels; H 10.8 cm, Diam 16.3 cm, foot Diam 6.8 cm. Ōta Collection, Oku-chō, Japan.

Figure 1-4 (right) Ninnami Dōhachi, Bowl with cherry blossom and maple leaves, first half of the nineteenth century. Stoneware with slip and polychrome overglaze enamels; H 8.8 cm, Diam 16.5 cm, Foot Diam 7.9 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 1-5 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Vase with fish handles, 1847. Signature (inside footring): Meiho ni oite Seifū zō 於明浦清風造 (made by Seifū at Mushiage). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 17.0 cm, Diam 5.4 cm, Foot Diam 5.3 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

Figure 1-6 (right) Miyagawa Kōzan I, Vessel with landscape by Nankei, 1870. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Kōzan zō 大日本香山造 (made by Kōzan of Great Japan). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 27.0 cm, Diam 14.0 cm, Foot Diam 12.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-7 Seifū Yohei I, Bowl with chrysanthemum, c. 1828- c. 1855. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風, inscription (side): Kenzan 乾山. Stoneware with slip and polychrome overglaze enamels; H 8.8 cm, Diam 15.2 cm, Foot Diam 6.9 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

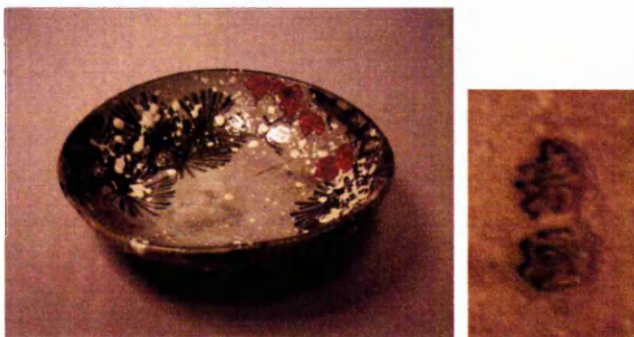


Figure 1-8 Seifū Yohei I, Three-footed bowl with pine tree and ivy in snow, c.1828 - c. 1855. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with white slip, iron-oxide and polychrome overglaze enamels; H 6.3 cm, W 19.4 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

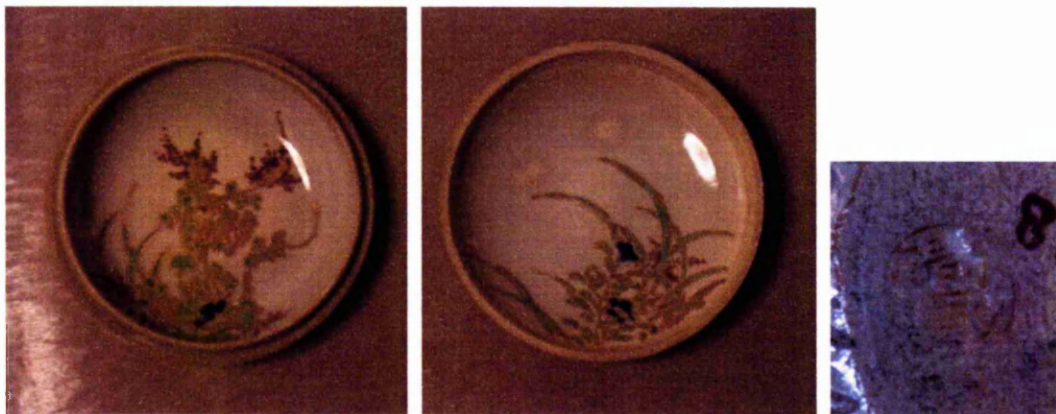


Figure 1-9 Seifū Yohei I, Incense box with flowers and plants, c.1828- c. 1855. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with polychrome and gold overglaze enamels; H 2.9 cm, Diam 7.5 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 1-10 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Tea bowl with chrysanthemum, c. 1828- c. 1855. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with slip, iron-oxide and white overglaze enamel; H 7.7 cm, Diam 12.3 cm, Foot Diam 4.7 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 1-11 (right) Seifū Yohei I, Water jar with stripes, c. 1828- c. 1855. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with underglaze cobalt blue; H 8.6 cm, Diam 13.0 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 1-12 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Tea Bowl with medallions of two birds and *seigaiha* pattern, c. 1828 - c. 1855. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with underglaze blue decoration; H 6.7 cm, Diam 14.8 cm, Foot Diam 6.0 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 1-13 (right) Seifū Yohei I, Lidded Jar, 1852 (Kaei 5). Inscription: 嘉永五壬子筆春清風与平造 Kaei 5 Jinshi hitsu haru Seifū Yohei zō (Inscribed in Kaei 5, Made in Spring by Seifū Yohei). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Private collection, Japan.

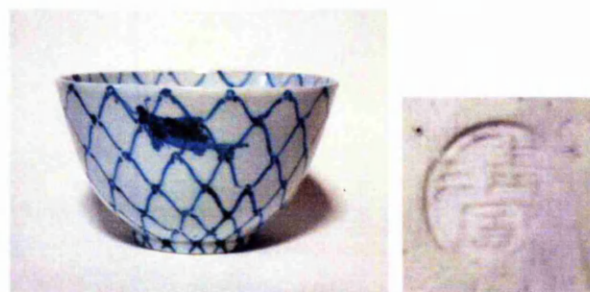


Figure 1-14 Seifū Yohei I, Bowl with fish in fishnet, c. 1828- c. 1855. Seal: Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 8.1 cm, Diam 13.0 cm, Foot Diam 5.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-15 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Octagonal box with dragon, c. 1828- c. 1855. Signature (bottom): Seifū-sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei at the Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. British Museum.

Figure 1-16 (right) Seifū Yohei I, *Jūbako* with Chinese landscape, c. 1828- c. 1855. Signature (bottom): Seifū-sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei at the Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 27.7 cm, L 19.3 cm, W 19.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.

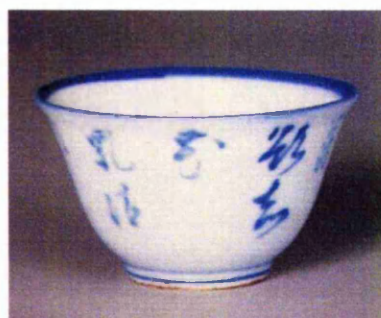


Figure 1-17 (left) Seifū Yohei I, Large lidded box with flowers of four seasons, c. 1828- c. 1855. Seal (inside footring): Seifū-sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei at the Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and copper red; H 24.0 cm, Diam 26.0 cm, Foot Diam 15.5 cm, private collection, Japan.

Figure 1-18 (right) Seifū Yohei I, *Sencha* teacup with the last two verses of *Chage* by Nukina Kaioku (one of a set of five), c. 1828- c. 1855. Inscription (side): 欲知花乳清冷味 須之眠雲跂石人 翁. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Inscription (lid recto): Kaioku sho sometsuke chawan 海屋書染付茶碗 (blue-and-white teacup with Kaioku's calligraphy). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 4.2 cm, Diam 7.0 cm, Foot Diam 3.2 cm. Seikadō Bunko Bijutsukan.



Figure 1-19 (left) Ninnami Dōhachi, Tea bowl with moon and goose, the first half of the nineteenth century. Seal (outside footring): Ippō-dō 一方堂. Stoneware with slip and iron-oxide; H 6.1 cm, Diam 10.8 cm. Kyoto National Museum.

Figure 1-20 (right) Ninnami Dōhachi, Water pot with Chinese scene, the first half of the nineteenth century. Seal (inside footring): Dōhachi 道八. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and copper red; H 18.0 cm, W 22.0 cm, Foot Diam 7.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-21 Ninnami Dōhachi, Bowl with bamboo in snow, 1848-1855. Seal (bottom): Momoyama 桃山. Stoneware with underglaze iron oxide and white slip; H 16.3 cm, W 23.3 cm. Bunkachō.



Figure 1-22 Takahashi Dōhachi III, Sencha tea cups with Chinese poem, 1855-1879. Signature (inside footring): Dōhachi 道八. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Kyoto National Museum.



Figure 1-23 Kiyomizu Shichibei I or II, Vase with literati style landscape, 1880-1910. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Signature (side): Shichibei zō 七兵衛造 (made by Shichibei); H 29.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

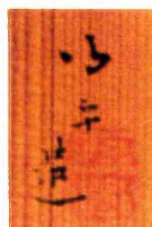
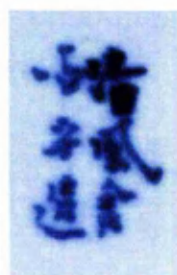
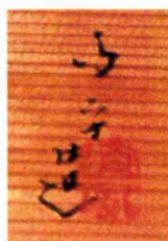
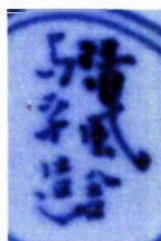


Figure 1-24 (above) Seifū Yohei II, Bowl with geometric pattern, c. 1861-1872. Signature (inside footring): Seifū-sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei at Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 1-25 (below) Seifū Yohei II, Bowl with Chinese scene, c. 1861-1872. Signature (inside footring): Seifū-sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei at Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-26 (left) Seifū Yohei II, Pair of *sencha* tea cups with peony, 1870s. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with polychrome and gold overglaze enamels; H 4.3 cm, Diam 5.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 1-27 (right) Maeda Handen, Old pine and bird. Ink and colours on silk; L 39.5 cm, W 53.5 cm. Seishikan Collection, Hiroshima.

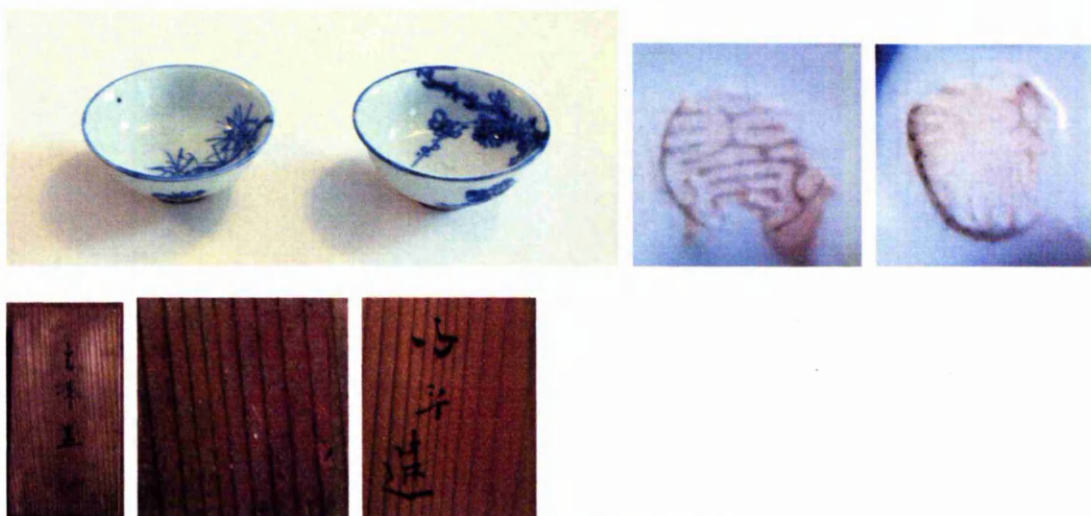


Figure 1-28 Seifū Yohei II, Pair of small cups with pine and plum, c. 1861-1872. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt-blue; H 3.1 cm, Diam 6.6 cm, Foot Diam 2.6 cm. Jim Heusinger Collection, Cleveland.

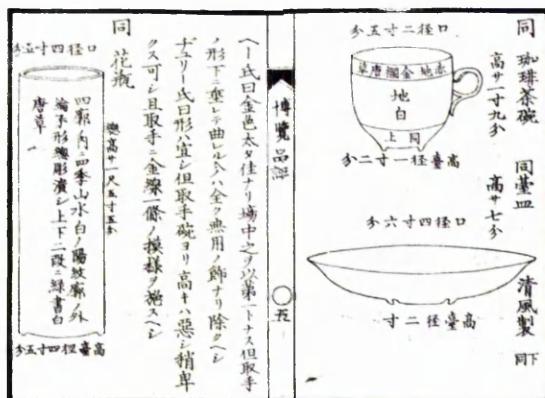


Figure 1-29 Illustration of *Hakurankai hinpyōroku* (Kyoto Hakurankaisha 1873, 5.)



Figure 1-30 Designs of ceramic works of Seifū Yohei II in *Onchizuroku*, vol. 1v 1875, 16, 18, 110. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 1-31 Left: Kawamoto Masukichi I, Vase with cutgrass pattern, 1881. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and brown; H 45.3 cm, Diam 27.0 cm. Seto-shi Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Aichi. Right: Illustration in *Onchizuroku*, vol. 42. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 1-32 Seifū Yohei II, Vase with flowers of four seasons, c. 1870-1878. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with polychrome and gold overglaze enamels; H 38.0 cm, Diam 16.6 cm, Foot Diam 15.5 cm. A. W. Franks Collection, British Museum.

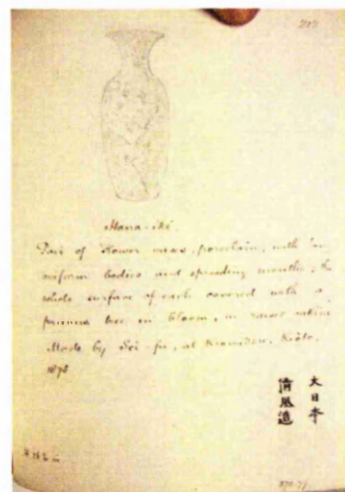


Figure 1-33 (left) Seifū Yohei II, A pair of vases with plum blossom, 1875. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with low relief decoration; (left): H 42.3 cm, D 17.0 cm, Foot Diam 11.2 cm, (right): H 41.5 cm, D 16.2 cm, Foot Diam 11.1 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 1-34 (right) Illustration and description of Figure 1-33 in *Catalogue of an Historical Collection of Japanese Pottery & Porcelain in the South Kensington Museum (Philadelphia Exhibition, 1876)*. (Read 1880, 212.)



Figure 1-35 Okada Tokuhō, *The Red Cliffs* by Su Shi, the mid nineteenth century. Photograph of calligraphy on a fan (this work's whereabouts is unknown). Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-36 Shinkai Seizan, Tea bowl with rock and wave, 1872- c. 1880. Seal (inside footring): Seizan 清山, sticker (inside bowl): Seizan saku, jidai oyoso 20 nen, Meiji 10 nen 6 gatsu, Ninagawa Noritane 清山作 時代凡二十年 明治十年六月 蜷川式胤 (made by Seizan, about 20 years old, June 1877, Ninagawa Noritane). Stoneware with underglaze iron-oxide; H 5.5 cm, Diam 12.9 cm, Foot Diam 5.1 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

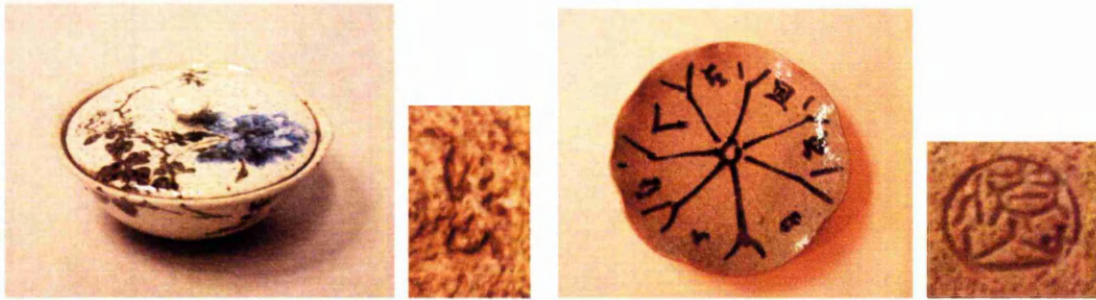


Figure 1-37 (left) Shinkai Seizan, *Sencha* tea pot with flower, 1872- c. 1880. Seal (inside footring): Seizan 清山, inscription (side): Uji Yamamoto 宇治山本. Stoneware with slip, iron-oxide and cobalt blue; H 5.3 cm, Diam 10.1 cm, Foot Diam 4.3 cm. E. S. Morse Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

Figure 1-38 (right) Shinkai Seizan, Small dish in the shape of lotus leaf (one of a set of five), 1872- c. 1880. Seal (bottom): Seizan 清山, inscription (top): Chokunyū sanshō 直入山樵 □ □ (mountain hermit Chokunyū __ __). Stoneware with underglaze iron-oxide; W 11.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.

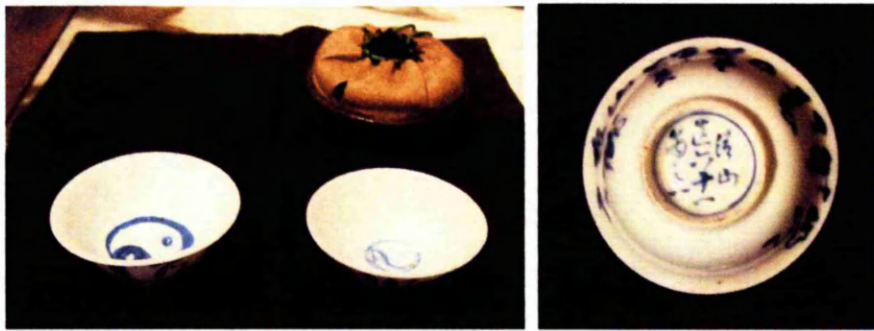


Figure 1-39 Shinkai Seizan, Pair of *sencha* tea cups with calligraphy by Tanomura Chokunyū (Cup on the right), 1875. Signature (inside footring): Seizan zō 61ō no ichi 清山造六十一翁之一 (made by Seizan, one of sixty-one year old sage's). Inscription (side): Meiji 10nen teigo shunjitsu hitsu __ Chokunyū sanshō gisha 明治十年丁丑春日筆 □ □ 直入山樵戲写 (On a Spring day in 1875, by mountain hermit Chokunyū). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; Diam 6.9 cm, Foot Diam 3.4 cm. Private collection, UK.
Cup on the left is by Inoue Shōhei (d. 1895) and Bamboo basket case is by Hayakawa Shōkozai I (1815-1897).



Figure 1-40 Seifū Yohei II (possibly by Shinkai Seizan), Cup with plum blossom and cracked ice pattern (one of a set of ten), 1872- c. 1880. Signature (inside footring): Seifū zō 清風造 (made by Seifū). Porcelain with low relief decoration and gold overglaze enamel; H 7.0 cm, Diam 9.2 cm, Foot Diam 4.5 cm. Jim Heusinger Collection, Cleveland.



Figure 1-41 Seifū Yohei II (possibly by Shinkai Seizan), Gourd-shape vase with eaglet on riverbank, 1872- c. 1880. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of the great Japan). Porcelain with yellow and black overglaze enamels; H 26.8 cm, Diam 13.0 cm, Foot Diam 9.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-42 Plate: Kiyomizu Rokubei III, Dinner plate with blossom, 1879. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H.3.0, D. 23.5 cm. Teapot: Kanzan Denshichi, Pot with flowers and plants, 1879. Signature (inside footring): Shōun-tei Kanzan sei 松雲亭幹山製 (made by Kanzan of Shōun-tei). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 25.0 cm. Teacup: Shinkai Seizan, A pair of cup and saucer with flowers and plants, 1879. Signature (inside footring): Meiji 12 nen Seifū-ro Seizan zō 明治十二年清風盧清山造 (In 1879, made by Seizan of Seifū hermitage). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 5.0 cm, Diam 13.8 cm. Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.



Figure 1-43 Shinkai Seizan, Stem cup with peach and nandin fruit, c. 1880. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風 (Seal of Yohei II), inscription (box lid recto): Seki-ji saishiki-ga shakuhai 石磁彩色画爵盃 (Porcelain stem cup with overglaze enamel painting), seal (box lid recto): Seifū 清風, inscription (box lid verso): Seifū-ro Seizan zō 清風盧清山造 (made by Seizan of Seifū hermitage), seal (box lid verso): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with polychrome and gold overglaze enamels; Diam 5.1 cm, Foot Diam 3.4 cm. Private collection, Japan.

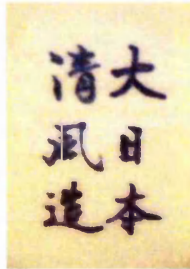


Figure 1-44 Seifū Yohei II (possibly by Shinkai Seizan), Vase with flying cranes, c. 1880. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold; H 33.6 cm, Diam 14.0 cm, Foot Diam 10.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.

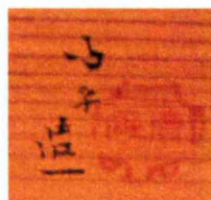


Figure 1-45 Seifū Yohei II (possibly by Shinkai Seizan), Small square plate with landscape, 1870s. Signature (bottom): Seifū zō 清風造 (made by Seifū), signature (box lid verso): Yohei zō 与平造 (made by Seifū), seal (box lid verso): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue. Private collection, Japan.

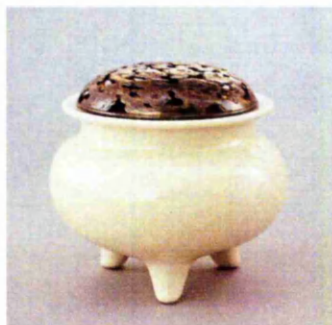


Figure 1-46 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Incense burner with cherry blossom, 1907. Inscription (box lid verso): Kanpaku-ji Kōro 瑗白磁香爐 (seal: Seizan 晟山) Seifū zōshi 清風造之, (seal: Seifū 清風). Porcelain low relief decoration and silver lid; H 9.5 cm, Diam 13.0 cm. Sannomaru Shōzōkan.

Figure 1-47 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Blue-and-white water jar in *shonzui* style, 1880-1910. Seal (side): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 19.0 cm, Diam 13.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.



Figure 1-48 Seifū Yohei III, Pink vase with cracked pattern, c. 1900. Seal (side): Seifū 清風, sticker (bottom): CMK25. Porcelain with three layers of overglaze enamels (yellow, transparent with cracked pattern pink); H 14.2 cm Diam 7.2 cm, Foot Diam 5.0 cm. Kuntz Collection, Smithsonian Freer Gallery of Art and Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, Washington DC.

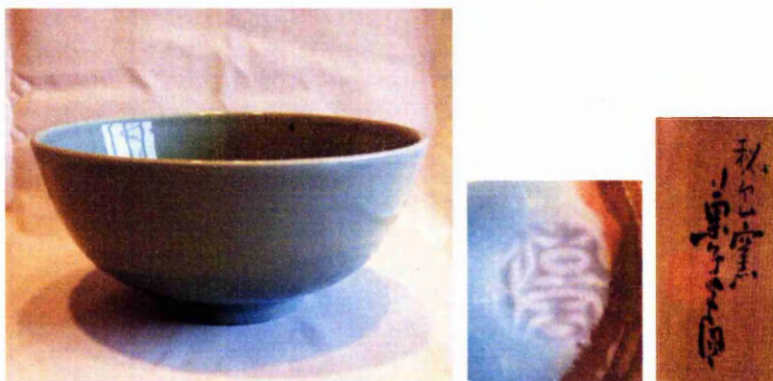


Figure 1-49 Seifū Yohei III, Celadon bowl with *mise* glaze, 1900s. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風, box inscription (box lid recto): Hisyoku-yō kashibachi 秘色窯菓子鉢 (*mise* kiln sweet bowl), seal (box lid recto): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with celadon glaze; H 9.5 cm, Diam, 19.5 cm, Foot Diam 8.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.



Figure 1-50 *Mise* ware plate, Yue kilns, late Tang dynasty Stoneware with celadon glaze; Diam 20.8 cm. Zhongguo Guojia Bowuguan (National Museum of China).
(This plate was excavated at a site of Famen temple date in 874).



Figure 1-51 Seifū Yohei III, Discussion on *mise* ware, 1914. Inscription: 秘色窯製器研正論延 大正三甲寅春日 清風晟山筆 (Studying ceramics of *mise* ware and having a discussion, a spring day 1914, by Seifū Seizan). Hanging scroll; ink and light colours on paper; L 120.2 cm, W 33.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.

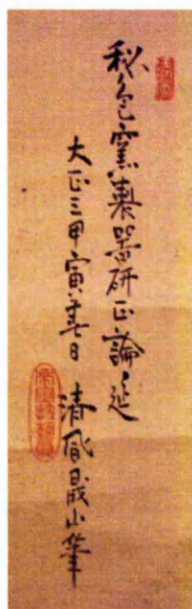


Figure 1-52 (left) Tōjiki Chinretsujō (Ceramics Gallery).



Figure 1-53 (right) Kyoto Tōjiki Shikenjō (Kyoto Ceramic Research Centre).



Figure 1-54 Seifū Yohei III, Vase with lions and Chinese flowers, 1886- c. 1890. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and green, yellow and white overglaze enamels; H 11.6 cm, Diam 7.6 cm, Foot Diam 4.7 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

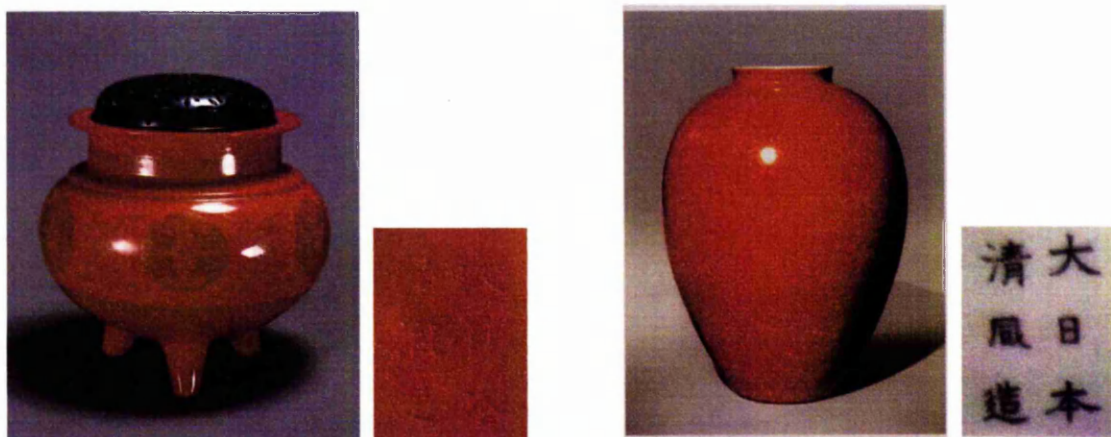


Figure 1-55 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Large incense burner with butterfly medallions, c. 1892. Signature (bottom): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with coral red glaze, gold overglaze enamel and silver lid. Tokyo National Museum.

Figure 1-56 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with coral red glaze, c. 1890. Seal (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with iron-oxide and coral red overglaze enamel; H 28.0 cm. The Khalili Collection of Japanese Art, Geneva.



Figure 1-57 Seifū Yohei III, Tripod incense burner with purple glaze, c. 1897. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with purple glaze; H 9.3 cm. Ex Charles J. Morse Collection. This incense burner was auctioned at Spink & Son Ltd. *The Arts of Japan*, 22 March – 6 April 1990, 115, lot 132. It was sold for £ 2800.



Figure 1-58 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Lidded Jar with flower and butterfly, c. 1890. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and red, green and purple overglaze enamels and low relief decoration; H 25.8 cm, Diam 19.0 cm, Foot Diam 9.5 cm. Hoyt Collection, Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.

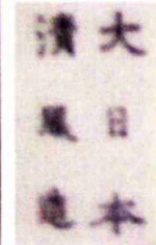
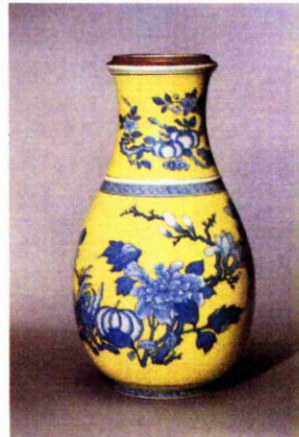


Figure 1-59 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with flowers and plants, c. 1889. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and yellow overglaze enamel; H 37.0 cm. The Khalili Collection of Japanese Art, Geneva.

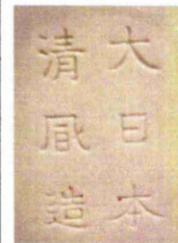
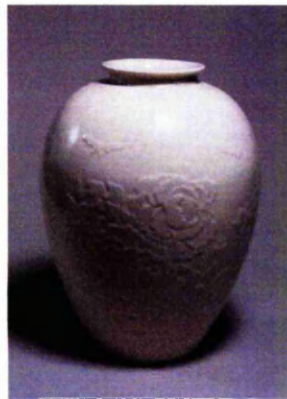


Figure 1-60 (left) Illustration of Seifū Yohei III's prize winning vases at NIE IV. (Shimabayashi 1897)

Figure 1-61 (middle) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with peony and butterfly, 1893. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with low relief decoration; H 38.2 cm, Foot Diam 13.9 cm. Chicago, Tokyo National Museum.

Figure 1-62 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with crane under pine tree, c. 1895. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with low relief decoration of clouds, underglaze cobalt blue, copper red, black and green and inglaze iron-oxide light red; H 44.0 cm, Foot Diam 13.2 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

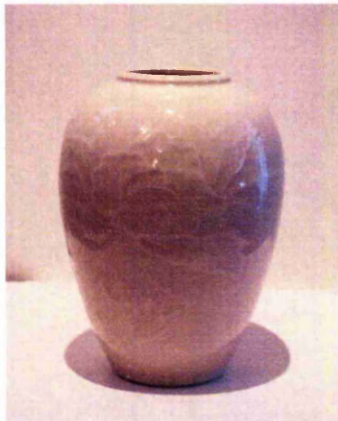


Figure 1-63 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with peony, 1893- c. 1900. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with low relief and inglaze light iron red shading; H 18.6 cm, Diam 14.0 cm, Foot Diam 6.8 cm. Jim Heusinger Collection, Cleveland.

Figure 1-64 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with insects, c. 1895. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with inglaze iron red. Private collection, Japan.

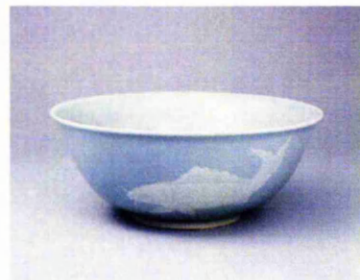
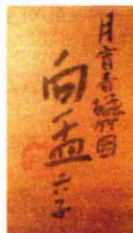


Figure 1-65 (left) Seifū Yohei IV, Boat-shape dish with bamboo (one of a set of six), 1919-1941. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風, inscription (box lid recto): Tsukiyoi seiji take-zu mukōhai rokko 月宵青磁竹図向盃六子 (evening moon celadon food dish with bamboo, six). Porcelain with low relief and light blue glaze. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 1-66 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Light blue bowl with carp, c. 1895. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with low relief and light blue glaze. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 1-67 Seifū Yohei III, Light blue vase with plovers flying over waves, c. 1895. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with low relief and light blue glaze; H 14.7 cm, Foot Diam 4.7 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.



Figure 1-68 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Light green vase with plum blossom, 1895-c.1900. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with low relief and light green glaze; H 23.0 cm, Diam 13.2 cm, Foot Diam 7.0 cm. the British Museum.

Figure 1-69 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Light purple vase with band of cloud pattern, 1890-1910. Porcelain with light purple glaze and relief decoration. Private collection, Japan.

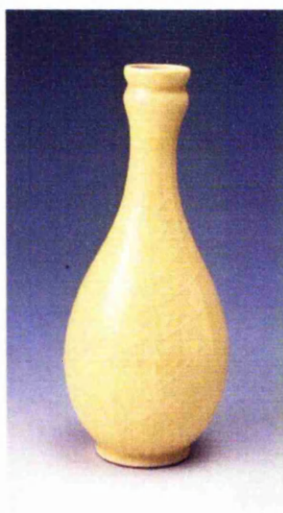
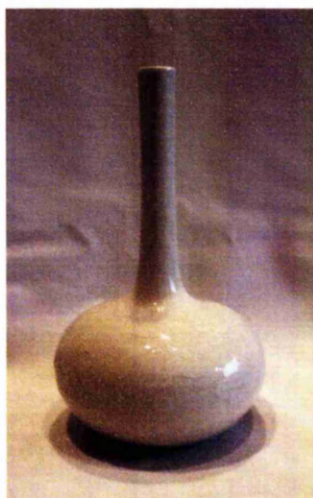


Figure 1-70 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with cherry blossom on cracked-ice pattern, 1890s. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with low relief and carving; H 21.8 cm, Foot Diam 7.1 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

Figure 1-71(right) Seifū Yohei III, Yellow vase with lily, c. 1897. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Prcelain with low relief and yellow glaze; H 24.8 cm, Diam 10.2 cm, Foot Diam 5.9 cm. the British Museum.



Figure 1-72 Seifū Yohei III, *Tenmoku* glaze vase with a dragon flying in clouds, c. 1900. Porcelain with *tenmoku* glaze; H 55.9 cm. Private collection, New York.



Figure 1-73 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Tea caddy with *tenmoku* glaze, c. 1907. Stoneware with *tenmoku* glaze; H 5.2 cm, Diam 6.6 cm. University of Michigan Museum of Art.



Figure 1-74 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with *tenmoku* glaze, c. 1900. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze tenmoku glaze; H 7.6 cm, Foot Diam 3.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.



Figure 1-75 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with olive green glaze, c. 1907. Porcelain with olive green glaze; H 7.6 cm, Diam 5.6 cm. University of Michigan Museum of Art.



Figure 1-76 (right) Seifū Yohei IV, Square bowl with *rōkan-ji*, 1919-1950. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with dark green glaze; H 5.9 cm, W 12.7 cm, Foot Diam 6.1 cm. Museum of Fine Arts, Boston.



Figure 1-77 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with dark blue glaze, c. 1907. Stoneware with dark blue glaze; H 8.9 cm, Diam 7.4 cm. University of Michigan Museum of Art.



Figure 1-78 (right) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with brown glaze, c. 1900. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with brown glaze; H 21.7 cm, Foot Diam 5.5 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.



Figure 1-79 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase in *tobi-seiji* style, c. 1912. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with celadon glaze and iron-oxide; H 56.4 cm, Foot Diam 18.5 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

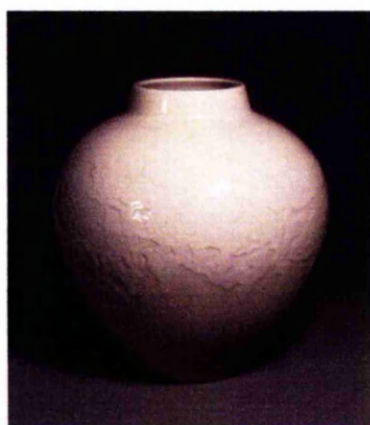


Figure 1-80 (right) Seifū Yohei III, White vase with *reishi*, c. 1912. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with low relief decoration; H 31.5 cm, Foot Diam 15.2 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 1-81 Seifū Yohei III, Vase with phoenix and paulownia, c. 1902. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, inglaze iron light red and low relief decoration; H 20.5 cm, W 16.5 cm, Foot Diam 8.4 cm. Jim Heusinger Collection, Cleveland.

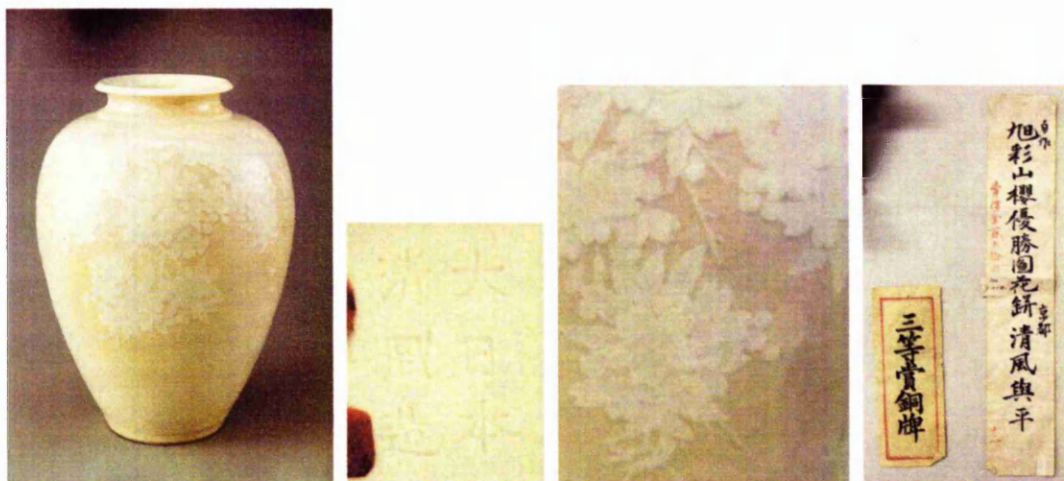


Figure 1-82 Seifū Yohei III, *Kyokusai yamazakura yūshōzu kabin* 旭彩山櫻優勝圖花瓶 (Morning-sun colour vase with wild cherry blossom), 1905. Inscription: Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan), supplements inside the box of the vase (left): Santōshō dōhai 三等賞銅牌 (Third Copper Prize), supplements inside the box of the vase (right): Jisaku kyokusai yamazakura yūshō-zu kabin, Kyoto, Seifū Yohei, baika kin hyakugojū-en 自作 旭彩山櫻優勝圖花瓶 京都 清風與平 賣價金百五拾円 (Individually produced work: Large vase with morning sun glaze with relief decoration of birds and mountain cherry blossom, Kyoto, Seifū Yohei, priced 150 yen). Porcelain with inglaze pink and yellow and relief decoration; H 43.0 cm, Diam 30.5 cm. Sannomaru Shōzōkan.

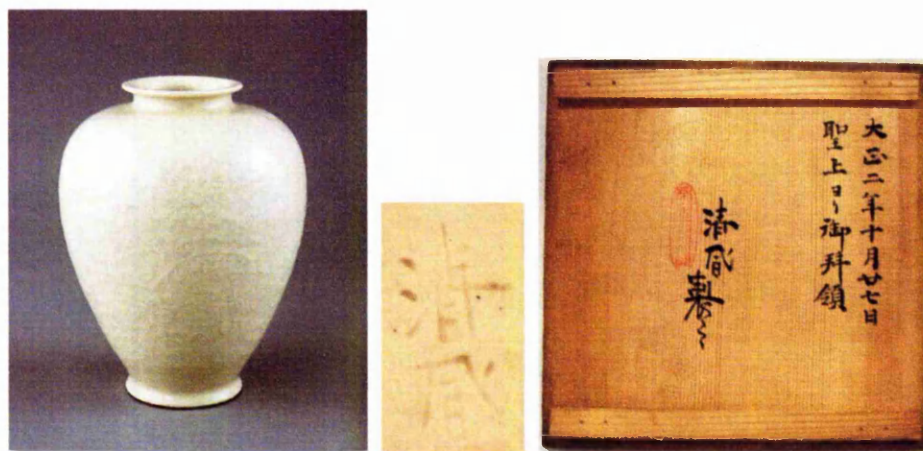


Figure 1-83 Seifū Yohei III (probably by Seifū Yohei IV), Vase with Chinese flower, 1913. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. inscription (box lid verso): Taisho 2 nen 10 gatsu 27 nichi Seijō yori gohairyō, Seifū seishi 大正二年十月廿七日聖上ヨリ御拝領 清風製之 (On 27 October 1913, [Crown Prince was] given [this] from His Majesty. Seifū made this. Porcelain with low relief and carving; H 26.0 cm, Diam 20.8 cm. Sannomaru Shōzōkan.

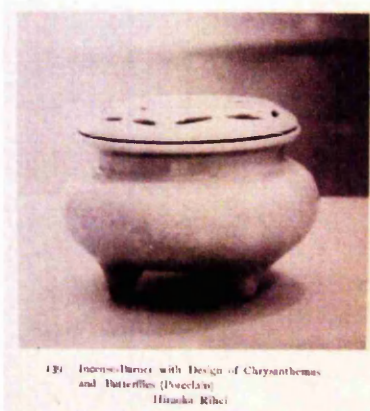


Figure 1-84 Photograph of an incense burner with chrysanthemums and butterflies by Seifū Yohei III exhibited at Japan British Exhibition in 1910. (The Office of the Imperial Japanese Government 1910, illustration no. 139.)



Figure 1-85 Seifū Yohei IV, Vase with chrysanthemum, c. 1914. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, yellow and inglazed iron red shading; H 40.0 cm. Walters Art Museum, Baltimore. This vase was purchased by Henry Walters at the Panama-Pacific International Exposition, San Francisco, 1915.



Figure 1-86
Seifū Yohei IV
Yellow Vase with Plum Blossom Design
(Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1918, 5)



Figure 1-87 Seifū Yohei IV, Celadon vase in bamboo style, 1920-1940. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with celadon glaze and low relief decoration; H 25.9 cm, Foot Diam 10.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

Figure 1-88 Kinkōzan Sōbei VII, Vase with chrysanthemum flowers, 1900s. Earthenware with polychrome glazes, gold, relief and openwork; H 30.0 cm. Ashmolean Museum, Oxford.

Chapter Two



Figure 2-1 Mori Yūzan (*d.* 1917), Battle scene from the Hamaguri-gate incident of 1864, Kyoto, 1893. Woodblock print, ink and colour on paper. The Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

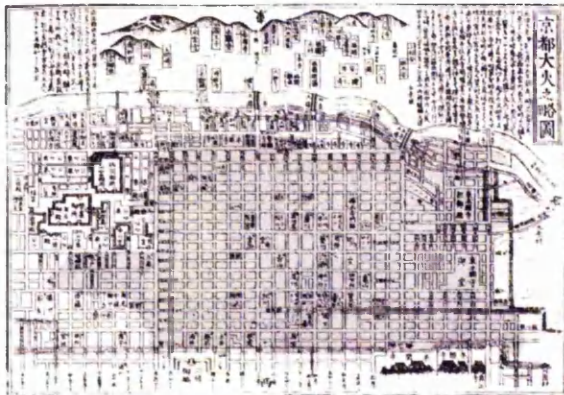


Figure 2-2 Artist Unknown, A map of Kyoto after the fire in 1864 (burnt area is coloured in gray). Woodblock print, ink on paper. (Shinsen Kyoto Sōsho Kankōkai 1985, 386).



Figure 2-3 Utagawa Kuniteru II (1830-1874), *Tokyo-fu kyōbashi yori gofukubashi no enkei*, (Distant view between Kyōbashi bridge and Gofukubashi bridge in Tokyo), 1868. Woodblock print, ink and colours on paper. National Diet Library.



Figure 2-4 Artist Unknown, Ōjoin, Nishi Hongan-ji temple, c. 1880. Albumen print on paper; L 20.3 cm, W 26.7 cm. Private collection.

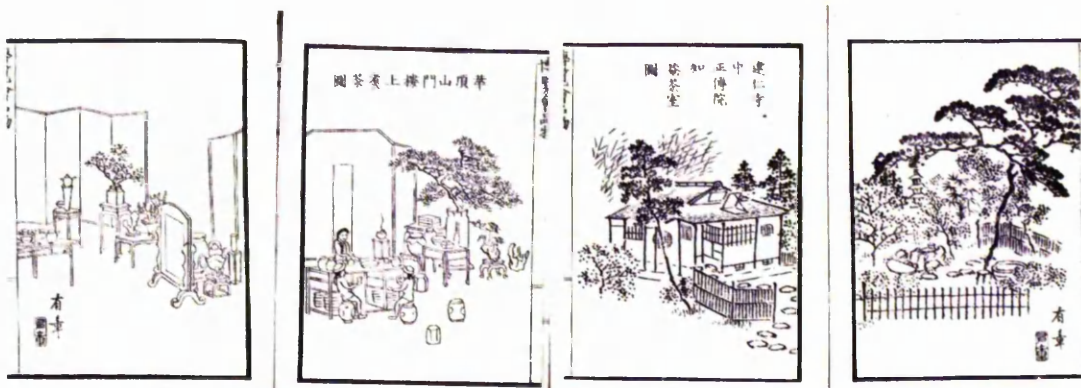


Figure 2-5 Nakajima Yūshō (1837-1905), Views of Chion-in temple and Kennin-ji temple at the First Kyoto Exhibition, 1872. Illustrations in *Hakurankai hinmotsu mokuroku*. (Itō 1872.)

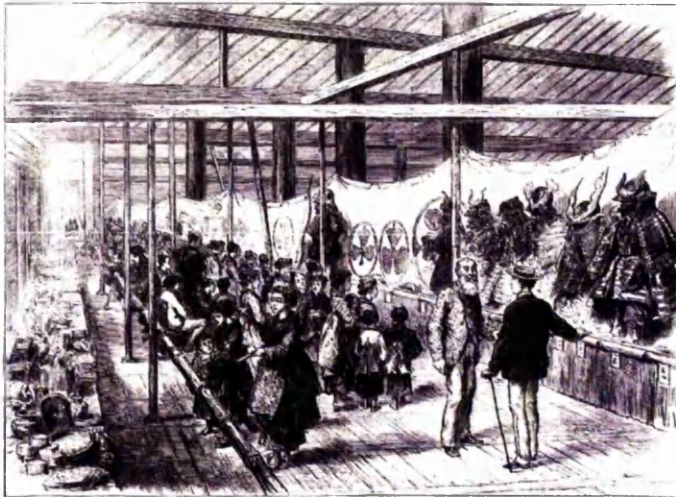


Figure 2-6 Charles Wirgman (1832-1891), Exhibition of Arts and Manufactures at Kyoto Japan, 1872. Illustration in *Illustrated London News*, October 19, 1872.



Figure 2-7 Yushima Seidō, c. 1868.



Figure 2-8 Shōsai Ikkei (dates unknown), Thirty-six famous sites in Tokyo, No. 30 Hakuran-sha, 1872. Woodblock print, ink and colours on paper. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 2-9 Kobayashi Kiyochika (1847-1915), Distant view of First National Industrial Exhibition, 1877. Woodblock print, ink and colours printed on paper. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 2-10 Utagawa Hiroshige III, Ueno Park of Second National Industrial Exhibition, 1881. Woodblock print, ink and colours printed on paper; L 36.8 cm, W 73.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

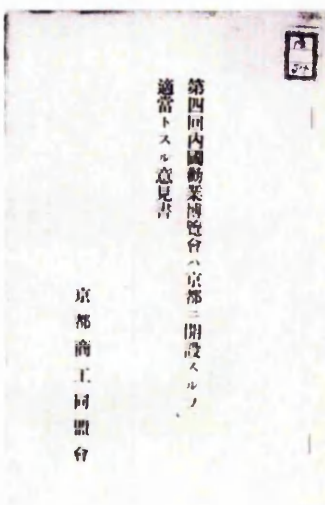


Figure 2-11 *Dai 4 kai naikoku kangyō hakurankai wa Kyoto ni kaisetsu suruno tekitō tosuru ikensho* (Request for Kyoto to be the venue of the Fourth National Industrial Exhibition). (Kyoto shōkō dōmeikai 1892.)



Figure 2-12 Antonio Fontanesi and his students before his reassignment of the school.

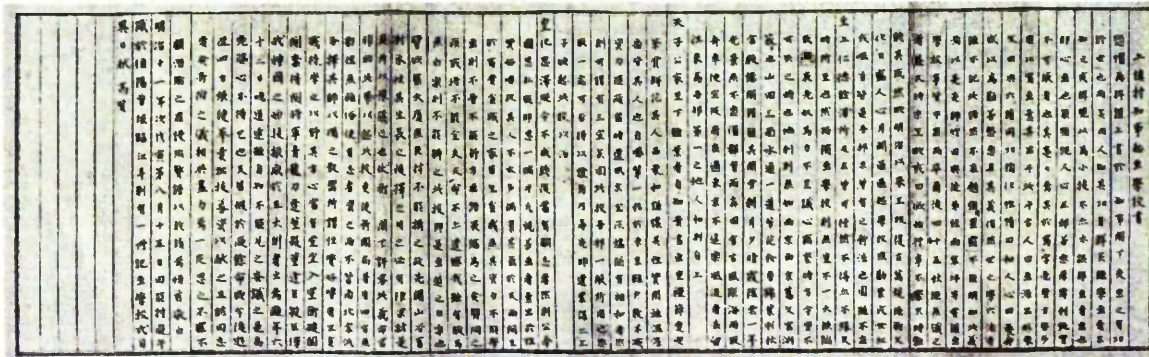


Figure 2-13 Tanomura Chokunyū, Request for the establishment of a public painting school, 1878. Ink on paper. Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku.



Figure 2-14 Kōno Bairei, Mochizuki Gyokusen, Kubota Beisen and Koseno Shōseki, Request for the establishment of a public painting school, 1879. Ink on paper. Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku.

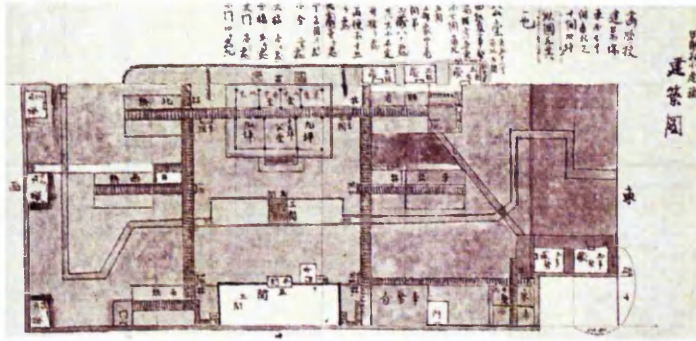


Figure 2-15 Tanomura Chokunyū, Ground plan of Kyoto-fu Gagakkō. Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku.

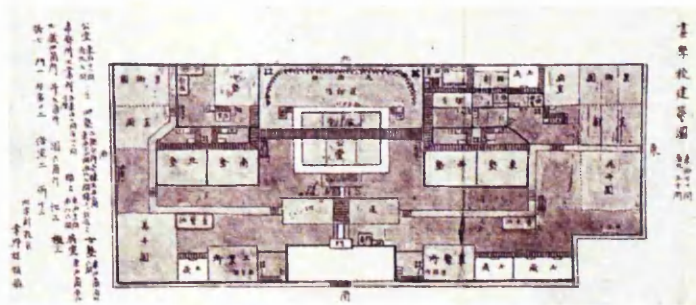


Figure 2-16 Kōno Bairei, Ground plan for Kyoto-fu Gagakkō. Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku.



Figure 2-17 Artist unknown, Scene of classrooms of Kyoto-fu gagakkō, 1877-1887. Ink on paper. Kyoto Shiritsu Geijutsu Daigaku.



Figure 2-18 Wagener Memorial. Okazaki Park in Kyoto.



Figure 2-19 Artists unknown, Official inspectors for the Vienna International Exposition, 1873.



Figure 2-20 (left) Hattori Kyōho, Plate with flowers and fruits, 1874. Inscription (inside footring): Meiji 7 nen 3 gatsu sha, Dai Nihon jika chakushoku so, Kyōho Hattori dō 明治七年三月写大日本直着色祖杏圃服部道 (March, Meiji 7, painted by Hattori Kyōho, the founder of overglaze painting in the Great Japan). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 2-21 (right) Ceramic wares for Vienna International Exposition in 1873 and 1874. Photograph; L 14.1 cm, W 20.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

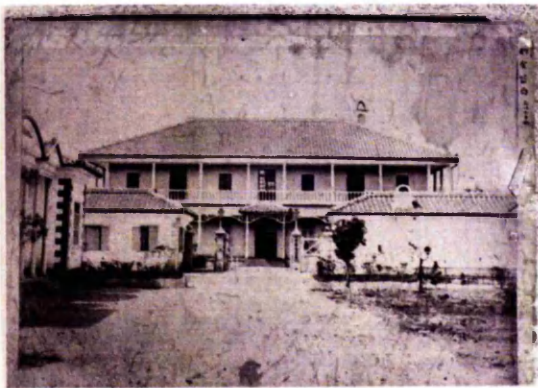


Figure 2-22 Kyoto-fu Seimikyoku, early Meiji era. photograph; L 8.0 cm, W 11.1 cm. Kyoto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.



Figure 2-23 Tokyo Kōgyō Gakkō.

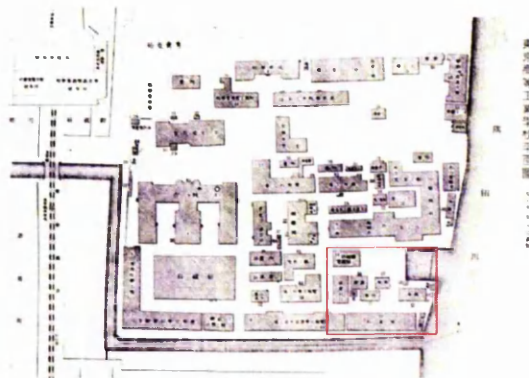


Figure 2-24 Ground plan of Tokyo Kōgyō Gakkō, 1922.

The Department of Ceramic and Grass is indicated with the red square by the Sumida River.



Figure 2-25 (left) Gottfried Wagener, Plate with fan and poem strip, Late 1880s (Azuma-yaki period). Stoneware with underglaze polychrome decoration and overglaze gold enamel; D 33.0 cm, H 3.0 cm. Tokyo Kōgyō Daigaku.



Figure 2-26 (right) Gottfried Wagener, Large plate with three men dancing *kashima odori*, 1887-1896 (Asahi-yaki period). Stoneware with underglaze polychrome decoration and overglaze red and gold enamels; D 40.6 cm, H.4.5 cm. Kyoto National Museum.



Figure 2-27 Kanazawa-ku Kōgyō Gakkō.



Figure 2-28 Toyama-ken Kōgei Gakkō.



Figure 2-29 Kagawa-ken Kōgei Gakkō.



Figure 2-30 Saga-ken Kōgyō Gakkō.



Figure 2-31 Photograph of Wagener and his students taken at Wagener's return to Germany, September 1890.
Back row from left: Matsumura Yajirō, Kuroda Masanori, Ichikawa Toyoji, Tateno Retsusuke, Shiba Torao, Kitamura Yaichirō, Asukai Kōtarō, Ōhara Tatsuhiko, Hirano Kōsuke; Front row from left: Horikoshi Jusuke, Yamaji Yōmaro, Gottfried Wagener, Fujie Eikō, Sekiguchi Kan'ichirō.

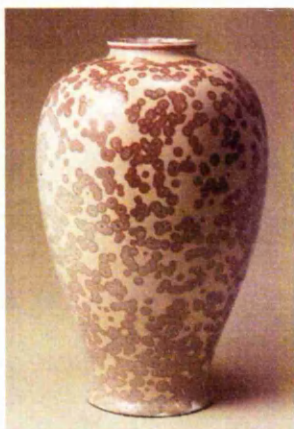


Figure 2-32 (left) Kitamura Yaichirō, Vase with crystalline glaze, c.1900s. Porcelain with crystalline glaze. Ishikawa Kenritsu Kōgyō Kōtō Gakkō.



Figure 2-33 (right) Photograph taken at the closure of Kyoto Seimikyoku, c. 1880. Gottfried Wagener is in the middle of the second row.

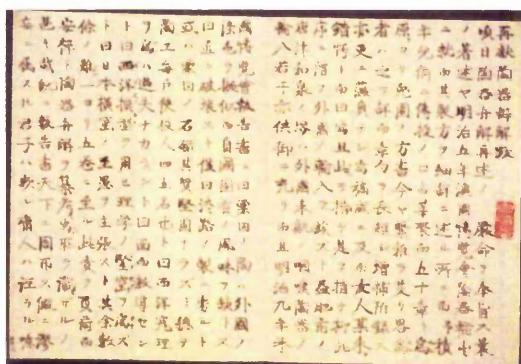


Figure 2-34 Tanzan Seikai, postscript of *Tōki benkai*, 1879. Kyōto Furitsu Sōgō Shiryōkan.

Chapter Three



Figure 3-1 Ogawa Kazumasa, Honmachi-dori Avenue, Yokohama, the early twentieth century. Albumen print; L 26.8 cm, W 21.2 cm. Nagasaki Daigaku Toshokan.



Figure 3-2 Photographer unknown, Kobe Bund, photograph, the late nineteenth century. Albumen print on paper board; L 23.1 cm, W 28.6 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

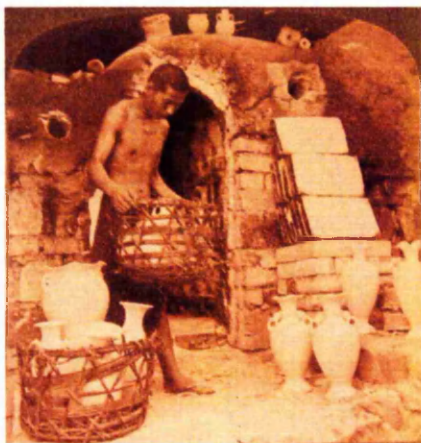


Figure 3-3 (left) Underwood & Underwood, Removing pottery from the kiln, at the famous Kinkozan porcelain works, 1904. Photograph; L 7.5 cm, W 15.0 cm. Fredric T. Schneider Collection.



Figure 3-4 (right) Yabu Meizan, Tea bowl with butterfly and chrysanthemum, Meiji era. Stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold; H 5.0 cm, Diam 10.0 cm. Murata Masayuki Collection.



Figure 3-5 (left) C. H. Graves, Manufacture of Kyoto porcelain in Japan, Painting the microscopic decoration, 1902. Photograph; L 7.5 cm, W 15.0 cm. Fredric T. Schneider Collection.

YABU MEIZAN,

(PORCELAIN PAINTER.)

Satsuma ware will be Painted by order.



Counterfeits are made much of late.

Pay your good attention to this mark.

One price only.

No. 197, Naka Nichōme, Dōjima,
OSAKA, JAPAN.

Figure 3-6 (right) Yabu Meizan, *advertisement*, 1895.



Figure 3-7 Yabu Meizan, Pair of vases with landscape and cloth-like shoulder decoration, 1890-95. Stoneware with overglaze polychrome and gold; H 18.0 cm. The Khalili Collection of Japanese Art.



Figure 3-8 Kinkōzan Sōbei VII, Incense burner with lion, c. 1900. Stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold; H 46.4 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 3-9 Mukai kilns, Iyo, Bowl with flowers, c. 1900. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; Diam 13.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 3-10 Suwa Sozan I, Vase with phoenix handles, 1914. Porcelain with celadon glaze; H 24.1 cm, Foot Diam 8.8 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 3-11 Hasegawa Sadanobu II, Prosperity of the coast of Kobe, 1871. Woodblock print, ink and colours on paper. Ikenaga Takeshi Collection, Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.



榮町二丁目十二番	上海	勸業	海屋一丁目二十四番	廣東	利興
榮町四丁目七十番	福建	泰記	榮町二丁目五十二番	上海	東源
海屋四丁目十四番	廣東	同孚	居留地四十二番	廣東	廣同
榮町四丁目三十番	全	裕貞	榮町三丁目十番	全	晉和
海屋三丁目九十一番	福建	益祥	下山手七丁目八十番	福建	廣駿
榮町二丁目三番	廣東	廣昌隆	元町一丁目十五番	廣東	和昌
榮町一丁目三十三番	全	怡和	居留地四十三番	全	怡和
海屋一丁目六十五番	全	同茂	榮町三丁目五十七番	上海	華順
海屋一丁目二十番	全	同茂	海屋四丁目五番	福建	信和
海屋二丁目五十六番	上海	德興	海屋二丁目八番	上海	福記
榮町二丁目二番	福建	復興	海屋三丁目九十九番	福建	利源
榮町二丁目四十一番	上海	德興	榮町一丁目三十三番	上海	吳生
榮町一丁目三十一番	全	懷生	居留地四十三番	廣東	其昌
榮町一丁目三十八番	全	義生	榮町二丁目二十七番	上海	懷泰
榮町三丁目九十番	福建	怡和	榮町二丁目四番	廣東	建昌
榮町二丁目一番	上海	怡和	榮町二丁目一番	上海	友泰
			元町一丁目六番	廣東	維康
			榮町二丁目四十八番	廣東	萬泰
					樓

A small, octagonal ceramic jar with a white glaze and a brown and red floral pattern. The jar has a wide mouth and a slightly flared rim. The decoration consists of stylized flowers and leaves in brown and red tones. The jar is set against a dark background.

A large, shallow bowl with a wide rim, decorated with a dense, repeating pattern of stylized flowers and leaves in dark blue, red, and green on a light background. The rim is decorated with a thin gold band.

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Figure 4-3 (left) Fushimi-yaki kilns, Young boy making pilgrimage to Ise, the late Edo to early Meiji period. Earthenware with polychrome overglaze colours; H 9.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 4-4 (right) Itō Jakuchū, Fushimi figurines, 1798, inscription: Beito ō 85 sai ga 米斗翁八十五歳画 (Painting by eighty-five year-old Beito ō). Hanging scroll, ink and colours on paper; H 104.4 cm, W 28.0 cm. Etsuko and Joe Price Collection.



Figure 4-5 (left) Kinkodō Kamesuke, Water basin for washing sake cup in the shape of a Chinese boy pulling a cart, 1836. Signature (bottom): Tenpō 7 saru Kinkodō Kamesuke saku 天保七申欽古堂亀祐作 (made in 1836 by Kinkodō Kamesuke). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 17.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 4-6 (right) Ninnami Dōhachi, Plate with fish and water plants in the style of Ming Chinese 'Swatow ware', the first half of the nineteenth century. Signature (inside footring): Kachūtei Dōhachi sei 華中亭道八製 (made by Kachūtei Dōhachi). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze red and green enamels; H 3.4 cm, Diam 25.0 cm, Foot Diam 15.7 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 4-7 Seifū Yohei I, Bowl in the style of 'Swatow ware', c. 1828 – c. 1855. Seal (side): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with white slip and overglaze red and green; H 8.2 cm, Diam 15.8 cm, Foot Diam 6.3 cm. Musée Guimet.



Figure 4-8 (left) Ninami Dōhachi, *Raku* tea bowl in the style of Hon'ami Kōetsu's tea bowl entitled *Kamiya (Paper Store)*, the first half of the nineteenth century. Earthenware with red and black glazes; H 8.6 cm, Widest Diam 12.6 cm, Foot Diam 5.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 4-9 (right) Ninami Dōhachi, *Gohon Tachizuru* style tea bowl, the first half of the nineteenth century. Seal (bottom): Ninami's seal in a shape of a trumpet shell. Stoneware with an impressed design of crane and with iron oxide and white slip. The British Museum.



Figure 4-10 Ogata Kenzan, Octagonal food bowl in a style of Dutch Delft, the first half of the eighteenth century. Stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels; H 8.2 cm, Diam 11.6 cm. Idemitsu Bijutsukan.



Figure 4-11 Left: Ogata Shūhei, *Sencha* tea pot with European decoration, 1834. Inscription (side): Ōju zōshi kōgo aki ryōjitsu Ogata Shūhei 應需造之甲午秋良日尾形周平 (made for a commission on a good day of autumn in 1834, Ogata Shūhei). Stoneware with overglaze iron oxide and red enamel and gold; H 9.9 cm, W 10.7 cm. Private collection, Japan. Right: Ogata Shūhei, Set of eight plates with European decoration, the first half of the nineteenth century. Seal (bottom): Ogata Shūhei zōshi 尾形周平造之 (Ogata Shūhei made this). Stoneware with overglaze iron oxide and red enamel; H 2.4 cm, Diam 17.2 cm. Kobe Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.

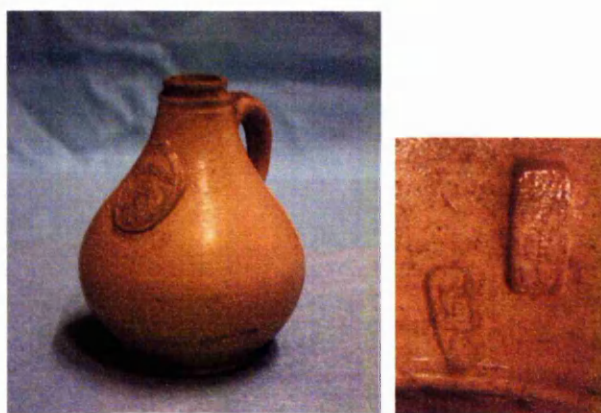


Figure 4-12: Takahashi Dōhachi, Jug with a medallion, the nineteenth century. Seal (side): 1. illegible, 2. Dōhachi 道八. Stoneware; H 10.0 cm, Diam 6.8 cm, Foot Diam 4.5 cm. Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, Hamburg.



Figure 4-13 Miura Chikusen I, Hand warmer in a style of Dutch Delft, the late nineteenth century. Seal (bottom): Chikusen 竹泉; H 9.1 cm, Diam 11.3 cm, Foot Diam 8.9 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 4-14: Plate with plum blossom and Chinese poem, Jingdezhen kilns, Yongzheng Era (1722-1735). Mark (inside footring): Yongzheng nianzhi 雍正年製. Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels; H 4.4 cm, Diam 17.3 cm, Foot Diam, 10.8 cm. Important Cultural Property of Japan. Tokyo National Museum.



宣
和
年
製



Figure 4-15 (left) Light-blue glazed vase with flower roundel, Jingdezhen kilns, Xuanhe mark (1119-1125) of the era of Emperor Huizong (1082-1135) but Kangxi era (1662-1722). Mark (inside footring): Xuanhe nianzhi 宣和年製. Porcelain with cobalt-blue glaze and incised patterns; H 20.8 cm, Percival David Collection, British Museum.

Figure 4-16 (right) Pair of *clair-de-lune* vases, Jingdezhen kilns, Kangxi era (1662-1722). Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Kangxi nianzhi, 大清康熙年製. Porcelain with light-blue glaze and carvings; National Gallery of Art, Washington DC.



Figure 4-17 (left) Green *douqing* vase, Jingdezhen kilns, Kangxi era (1622-1722), Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Kangxi nianzhi 大清康熙年製. Porcelain with light-green *douqing* glaze with carved patterns; H 21.3 cm, Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan (The Palace Museum, Beijing).

Figure 4-18 (right) 'Peach-bloom' water pot with dragon, Jingdezhen kilns, Kangxi era (1622-1722). Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Kangxi nianzhi 大清康熙年製. Porcelain with pink and green 'peach bloom' glaze; H 8.9 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 4-19 (left) 'Tea dust' double-gourd shape vase, Jingdezhen kilns, Qianlong Era (1735-1795). Mark (Bottom): Da Qing Qianlong nianzhi 大清乾隆年製. Porcelain with 'tea dust' glaze; H 39.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 4-20 (right) 'Robin's egg' vase, Jingdezhen kilns, Yongzheng Era (1723-1735). Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Yongzheng nianzhi 大清雍正年製. Porcelain with 'robin's egg' glaze; H 26.7 cm, Foot Diam 12.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 4-21 (left) Pair of lemon yellow cups, Jingdezhen kilns, Guangxu era (1875-1908). Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Guangxu nianzhi 大清光緒年製. Porcelain with overglaze lime green enamel; Diam 9.5 cm. Kwan Collection, Xiang Gang Zhongwen Daxue (Chinese University of Hong Kong).



Figure 4-22 (right) Pair of lime green cups, Jingdezhen kilns, Guangxu era (1875-1908). Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Guangxu nianzhi 大清光緒年製. Porcelain with overglaze lime green enamels; Diam 10.0 cm. Kwan Collection, Xiang Gang Zhongwen Daxue (Chinese University of Hong Kong).



Figure 4-23 Bowl with Pomegranate, Hizen kilns, 1830-1860. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamels; H 11.0 cm, Diam 22.0 cm, Foot Diam 10.3 cm. Shibata Collection, Arita Porcelain Park.



Figure 4-24 (left) Water pot with flower, Kairakuen kiln, 1819-1852. Seal (bottom): Kairakuen sei 偕楽園製. Stoneware with overglaze blue and purple enamels; H 10.0 cm, Diam 18.3 cm, Foot Diam 10.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 4-25 (right) *Fahua* bowl with lotus, Jingdezhen kilns, Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). Stoneware with overglaze blue and purple enamels. Shanghai Bowuguan (Shanghai Museum).



Figure 4-26 Ninnami Dōhachi, Gourd-shape bottle with phoenix, 1827. Inscription (side): Kairakuen sei 偕楽園製, signature (inside footring): Ninnami zō 仁阿彌造. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamels; H 14.5 cm, Diam 8.0 cm, Foot Diam 4.9 cm. Tekisui Bijutsukan.



Figure 4-27 Vase with Butterflies, Nanki Otokoyama kiln (body), Kairakuen kiln (Overglaze decoration), 1819-1835. Inscription (side): Kairakuen ga sei 偕楽園画製 (painting was done in Kairakuen), inscription (inside footring): Nanki Otokoyama 南紀男山, box inscription (side): Hairyō no hanaike Tenpō Itsubi 6 nen 9gatsu nijū-ichi nichi 拝領之花生 天保乙未六年九月廿一日 (vase that was given, 21 September 1835). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels; H 26.3 cm, Diam 10.6 cm, Foot Diam 8.2 cm. Wakayama Shiritsu Hakubutsukan.



Figure 4-28 Plate with Flower, Tobe kilns (body), Gunchū jikkinte kiln (overglaze decoration), 1831-1868. Porcelain with overglaze pink, green and yellow enamels. Private collection, Japan.

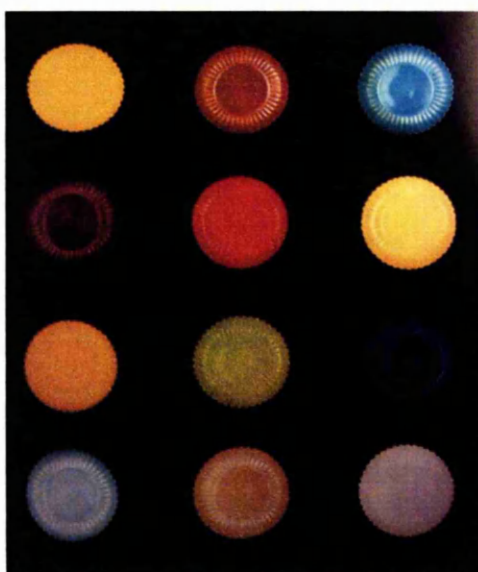


Figure 4-29 Chrysanthemum dishes in twelve colours, Jingdezhen kilns, c. 1733. Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Yongzheng nianzhi 大清雍正年製 (made in Yongzhen era of the Great Qing). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels. Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan (The Palace Museum, Beijing).



Figure 4-30 (left) A shard of a *fencai* bowl. Qianlong mark but nineteenth century Chinese copy. Mark (inside footring): Da Qing Qianlong nianzhi 大清乾隆年製 (made in Qianlong era of the Great Qing). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels; H 8.4 cm, Diam 18.8 cm, Foot Diam 7.3 cm. Object no. 1518, excavated in hole no. 43 of the Aizu domain residence site in Shiodome, Tokyo. (Shiodome-chiku 1996, 211.)

Figure 4-31 (middle and right) Shards of *fencai* ware (excavated in Aizu domain residence site in Shiodome, Tokyo), the early nineteenth century. Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels. (Shiodome-chiku 1996, 157, 161, 286, 295.)

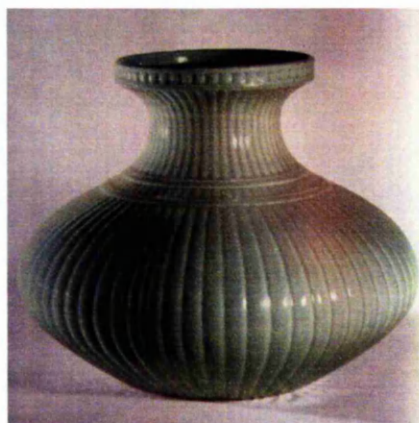


Figure 4-32 (left) Takahashi Dōhachi III, Brown basket vase, c. 1875. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Dōhachi sei 大日本道八製 (made by Dōhachi of the Great Japan). Stoneware with brown glaze; H 32.1 cm, D 17.7 cm, Foot Diam 10.4 cm. Victoria and Albert Museum.

Figure 4-33 (right) Celadon fish basket vase, Jingdezhen kilns, Yongzheng era (1723-1735). Porcelain with pale-green glaze; H 53.5 cm. Guoli Gugong Bowuyuan (The Palace Museum, Beijing).



Figure 4-34 Seifū Yohei III, Bowl with flowers, c. 1900. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風, box inscription (lid verso): Hyakkanishiki kashibachi 百華錦菓子鉢 (seal: Seifū 清風), box inscription (lid recto): Seifū zō 清風造 (seal: Teishitsu gigei'in 帝室技藝員). Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels. Private collection, Japan.

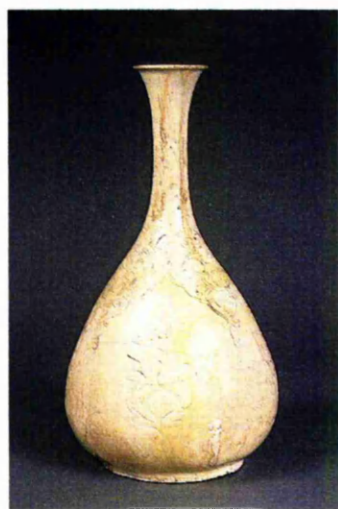


Figure 4-35 Vase with Peony, Goryeo Dynasty, the twelfth century. White porcelain with incised decoration; H 36.8 cm, Foot Diam 12.8 cm. Kyoto National Museum.



Figure 4-36 Porcelain wares with low relief:

Left: Tea cup and saucer with prunus blossoms, Meissen, Germany, c. AD 1730. the British Museum. Middle: Cup and saucer with prunus blossoms, Bow, England, the mid eighteenth century. the British Museum. Right: Teapot and cover with prunus blossoms, Dehua kilns, Fujian province, Qing dynasty, c. 1700. the spout replaced in metal, British Museum.

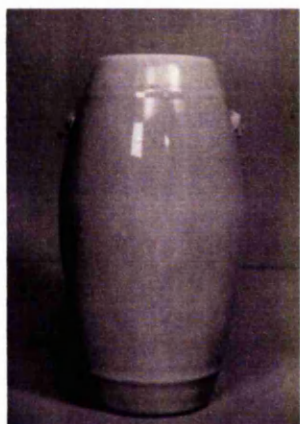


Figure 4-37 (left)

Photograph of a vase with demon heads by Seifū Yohei IV, c. 1935. (Nagoya Matsuzakaya 1935)

Figure 4-38 (right) Seifū Yohei IV, Vase with demon heads, 1930s. Signature (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain; H 39.0 cm, Foot diam 12.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

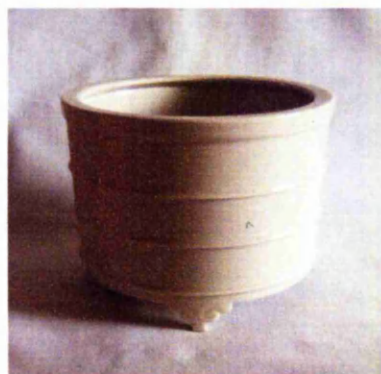
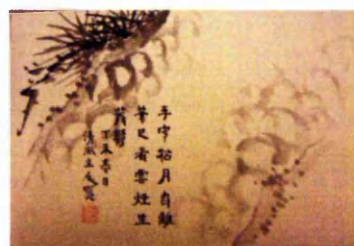
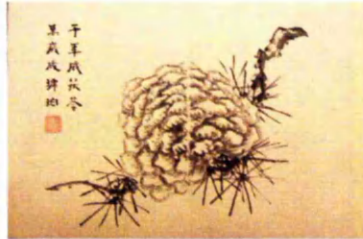


Figure 4-39 (left) Seifū Yohei IV, Hand warmer (one of a set of eight). 1914-1940. Seal (bottom): Seifū 清風. Porcelain; H 8.7 cm, Diam 9.5 cm, H 9.5 cm, Diam 10.0 cm. David Hyatt King Collection.

Figure 4-40 (right) Censer, Dehua kilns, the mid-seventeenth century. Porcelain; H. 8.25 cm. Private collection.



Figure 4-41 Seifū Yohei III (title page is by Higashikuze Michitomi), *Kanbi Ishin jō* 閑美怡神帖 (Beauties at leisure delighting spirits), 1907. Album, ink and colours on paper; H 24.2 cm, W 36.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.





SKETCHES FROM JAPAN: A SOCIAL MEETING OF JAPANESE ARTISTS

Figure 4-42 Illustration for the article 'A Social Meeting of Japanese Artists' on 27 January 1866 issue of *the illustrated London News*.



Figure 4-43 Wang Yemei, River landscape, 1872-1889. Hanging scroll, ink and light colours on velvet; H 134.0 cm, W 49.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Chapter Five



Figure 5-1 *Sencha* tea ware given to Townsend Harris from Inoue Kiyonao, Peabody Essex Museum, Salem, Massachusetts.

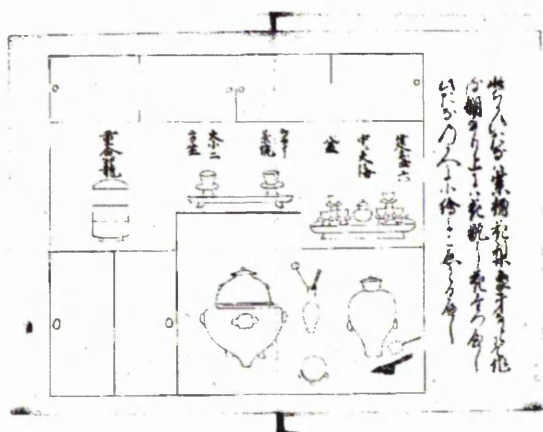


Figure 5-2: An illustration of *Kundaikansouchōki*.



Figure 5-3 (left) *Tenmoku* tea bowl, Jian kilns. Southern Song Dynasty, the twelfth century. Stoneware with *tenmoku* glaze and metal rim; H 7.0 cm, Diam 12.2 cm, Foot Diam 3.9 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

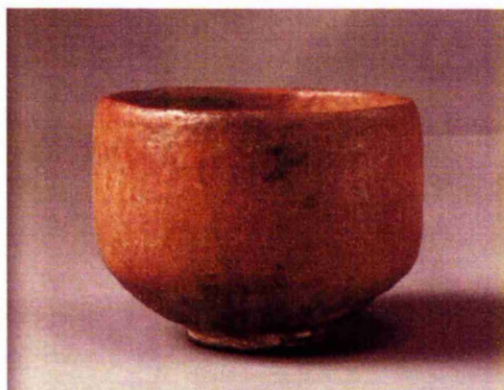


Figure 5-4 (right) *Chōjirō*, *Muichibutsu*, Azuchi Momoyama Period. Red earthenware with transparent glaze; H 8.6 cm, Diam 11.2 cm, Foot Diam 4.8 cm. Egawa Bijutsukan.

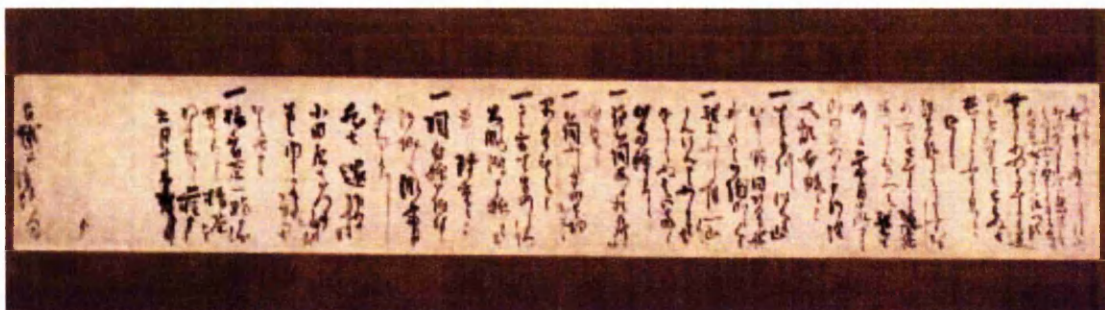


Figure 5-5 Letter by Sen no Rikyū, the sixteenth century. Tokyo National Museum.

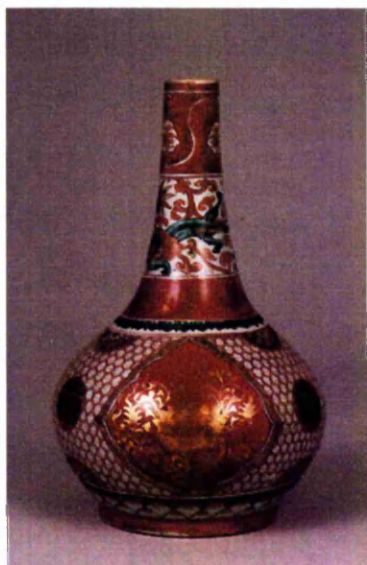


Figure 5-6 (left) *Kinrande* vase, Jingdezhen kiln, mid Ming dynasty. Porcelain with overglaze polychrome and gold leaf; H 29.0 cm, Diam 3.2 cm, Foot Diam 11.4 cm. Nezu Bijutsukan.

Figure 5-7 (right) Bowl with Chinese character 'Shu', Hizen kilns, 1690-1730. Porcelain with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold; H. 6.2 cm, Diam 21.7 cm, Foot Diam 12.3 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-8 Seifū Yohei III, *Kinrande* teacups, 1900s. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風. Porcelain with overglaze red and gold; H 5.3 cm, Diam 8.3, Foot Diam 3.6 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-9 Manpuku-ji temple.



Figure 5-10 Itō Jakuchū, Manpuku-ji temple, the eighteenth century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper; H 96.0 cm, W 28.0 cm. Etsuko & Joe Price Collection.



Figure 5-11 Two Yixing tea pot owned and used by Ingen. Left: Teapot, Yixing kilns, the seventeenth century. Stoneware; H 14.5 cm. Manpuku-ji. Right: Teapot with a poem by Shi Dabin, Yixing kilns, 1609. Inscription: Cha shou qing xiang you, ke dao yi ke xing, Shi Dabin zuo gu 茶熟清香有 客到一可喜 時大彬做古 (Aged tea has clear flavour, guest will be delighted at an arrival, Shi Dabin (made) after an old work). Stoneware; H 19.3 cm. Manpuku-ji.

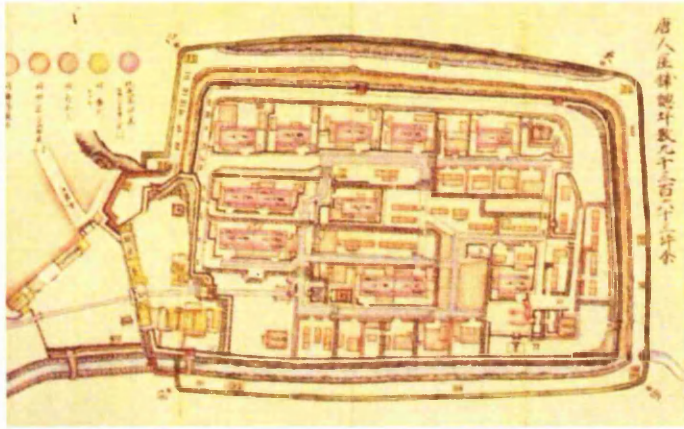


Figure 5-12 Map of Chinese residents in Maps of public offices in Nagasaki, the late Edo period. Ink and colours on paper; L 27.7 cm. National Archives of Japan.



Figure 5-13 Itō Jakuchū, Portrait of Baisaō with accompanied poem by Kimura Kenkadō, the late eighteenth century. Hanging scroll, red and black ink on paper; H 129.1 cm, W 41.1 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-14 Baisaō's *sencha* ware owned by Kimura Kenkadō. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-15 Artist unknown, Arrival of Chinese ship, the late Edo period. Hand scroll, ink and colours on paper; L 37.5 cm, W 529.0 cm. Nagasaki Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan.



Figure 5-16 Moku Bei, A set of sencha ware. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 5-17 (left) Meihō, *Chashinko* (tea caddy) with Chinese boys playing, the mid nineteenth century. Signature (side): Meihō sha 鳴鳳写 (painted by Meihō). Porcelain with overglaze red and gold decoration; H 13.9 cm, Diam 9.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-18 (right) Tōzan Kiln, *Chashinko* (tea caddy) in *tobiseiji* style, the nineteenth century. Porcelain with celadon glaze with iron black dots; H 17.8 cm, W 6.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.

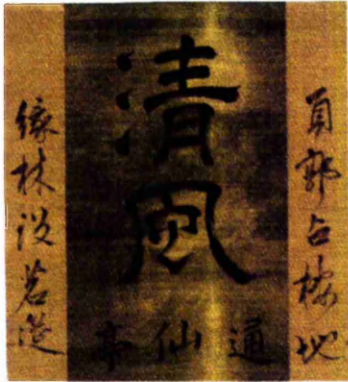


Figure 5-19 Daiten Kenjō and Keishū Dōrin, Banner of Tsūsentei, the eighteenth century. Ink on hemp cloth; H 69.5 cm, W 52.6 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-21 Ninnami Dōhachi, Pot with wooden handle, stoneware with underglaze cobalt blue, the first half of the nineteenth century. Signature (lid verso): Dōhachi 道八. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and wooden handle; H 27.6 cm, W 19.9 cm, Foot Diam 10.6 cm. Sairai-in, Kyoto.



Figure 5-22: Seifū Yohei I, Teapot, c. 1828 – c. 1855. Signature (below handle): Seifū 清風. Stoneware with underglaze cobalt blue; H. 9.3 cm, W 14.7 cm, Foot Diam 7.2 cm. Private collection, Japan.

Figure 5-20 (right) Moku Bei, Sencha teapot and poem, the early nineteenth century. Hanging scroll, ink on paper; H 147.4 cm, W 7.3 cm. Idemitsu Bijutsukan.





Figure 5-23 Seifū Yohei I, Porcelain stove with flowers of four seasons, c. 1828 – c. 1855. Signature (inside footring): Seifū sha Yohei zō 清風舎与平造 (made by Yohei of Seifū workshop). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 28.0 cm, Diam 13.8 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-24 (left) Seiwan chakai hi (Stone monument of *Seiwan chakai*). Sakuranomiya Park, Osaka.

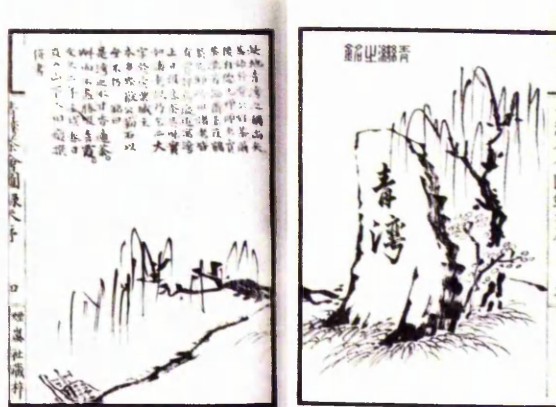


Figure 5-25 (right) Tanomura Chokunyū, Illustration of Seiwan chakai hi. (Tanomura 1863, 3-4.)

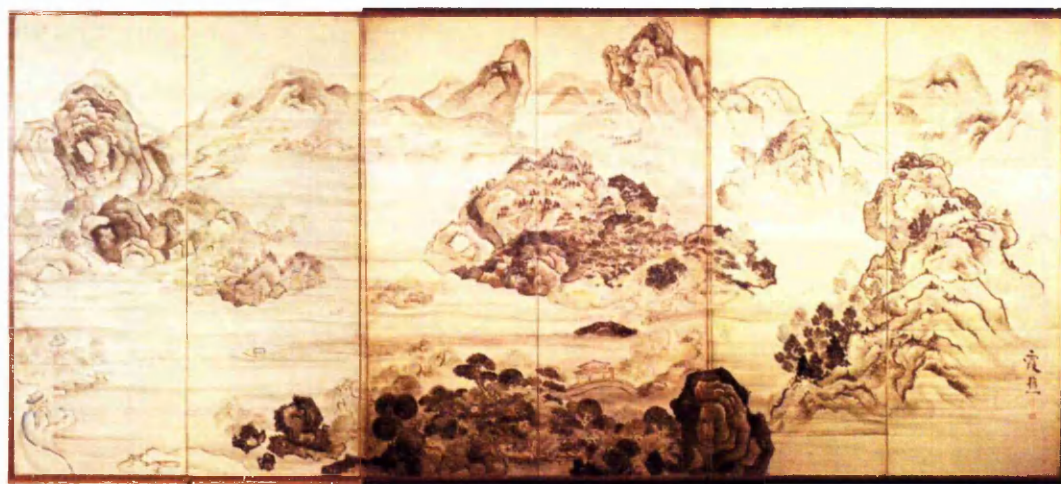


Figure 5-26 Ike Taiga, Spring landscape of Lake Xihu, the eighteenth century. Six panel screen, ink and light colour on paper; H 166.5 cm, W 371.0 cm. Important Cultural Treasure. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 5-27 Tanomura Chokunyū,
Illustration in *Seiwan chakai zuroku*, 1863.
(Tanomura 1863, 2-3.)



Figure 5-28 Tanomura Chokunyū, Illustration in *Seiwan chakai zuroku*, 1863. (Tanomura 1863, 1-2.)

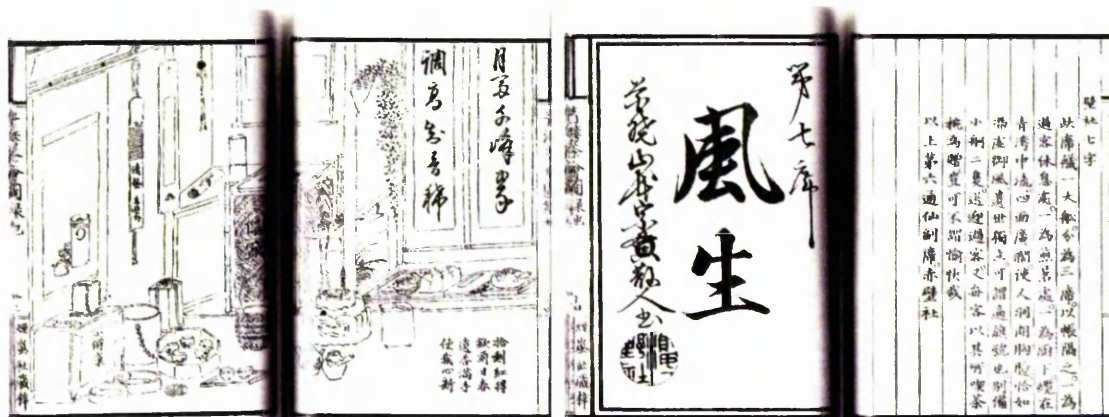


Figure 5-29 Tanomura Chokunyū, Illustration in *Seiwan chakai zuroku*, 1863. (Tanomura 1863, 14-15.)



Figure 5-30 Seifū Yohei III, Set of *sencha* teacups with inscription by Tanomura Chokunyū, 1903. Seal (inside footring): Seifū 清風, inscription (side): 90 okina Chokunyū dōjin sha 九十翁直入道人寫 (calligraphy by 90 year old hermit Chokunyū). Stoneware with iron oxide; H 4.8 cm, Diam 7.3 cm, Foot Diam 4.0 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-31 Seifū Yohei III, Water pot with painting of taro and calligraphy by Kanō Tessai, the early twentieth century. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 15.0 cm. Shinshō-ji temple, Gifu.



Figure 5-32 Seifū Yohei III, Set of seven *sencha* teacups with paintings of auspicious symbols and poems by Kanō Tessai, the early twentieth century. Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 4.4 cm, Diam 6.7 cm. Shinshō-ji temple, Gifu.



Figure 5-33 (left) Guze Kannon, the early seventh century. Curved wood with gold; H 178.0 cm. Horyū-ji temple, Nara.



Figure 5-34 (right) Kanō Tessai, Fenollosa and Okakura researching Buddhist sculptures (section), 1925. Handscroll, ink on paper; 21.8 cm, 374.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.



Figure 5-35 Kanō Tessai, Baisaō, 1925. Carved wood with colours; H 34.8 cm, W 26.5 cm. Manpuku-ji temple, Kyoto.

Figure 5-36 Illustration in von Siebold's *Nippon II*, TAB IX. (Von Siebold 1852.)

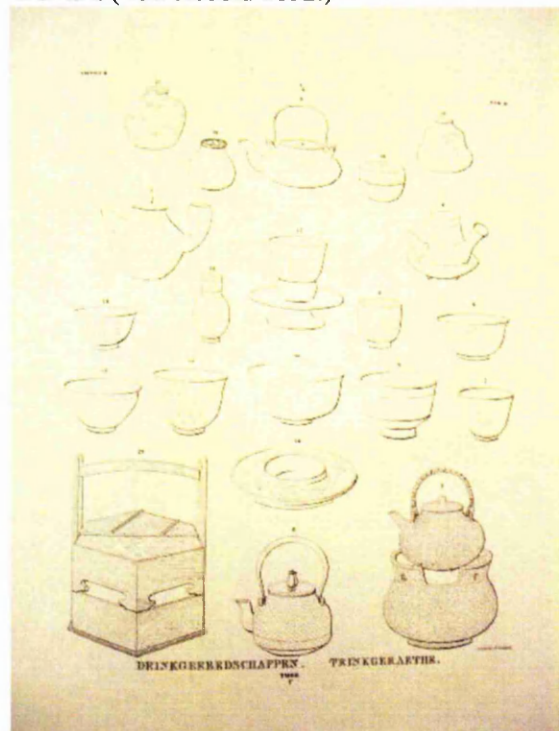




Figure 5-37 Display of objects, photograph, 1872-1888. William Gowland Collection, British Museum.

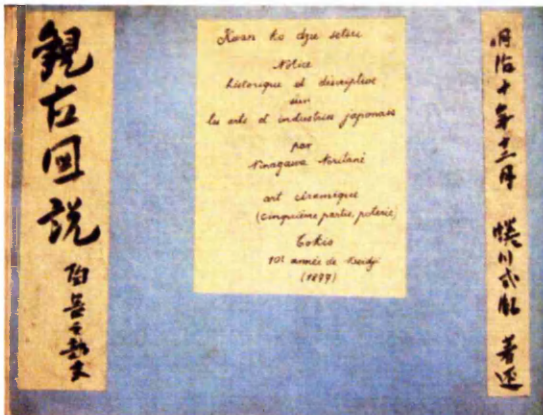


Figure 5-38 Ninagawa Noritane, *Kanko zusetsu*, vol 5, front page and 2, British Museum.

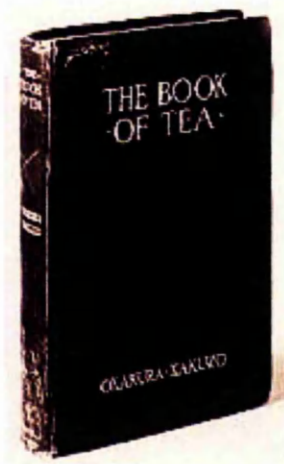


Figure 5-39 Okakura Kakuzō, *The Book of Tea*, 1906.

Chapter Six



Figure 6-1 Courtyard of the Meiji Palace, Photograph.



Figure 6-2 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Vase with fish in water, 1890s. Porcelain with underglaze blue and purple. Present location of the vase is unknown. This photograph owned by a private collector in Japan.



Figure 6-3 (right) Miyagawa Kōzan I, Stoneware basin with crab, 1881. Stoneware with brown glaze and overglaze polychrome enamels; H 34.3 cm, Diam 39.6 cm, Foot Diam 17.1 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

Figure 6-4 Miyagawa Kōzan I, Incense burner with dragons over wave, 1892/93. Signature (bottom): Makuzu yō Kōzan sei 真葛窯香山製 (made by Kōzan of Makuzu kiln). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and high-fired green, red and brown glazes. Khalili Collection of Japanese Art, Geneva.





Figure 6-5 (left) Takemoto Hayata, Porcelain Vase with *shinsha* glaze, c. 1880s. Porcelain with red crystalline glaze; H 26.8 cm, Diam 8.1 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

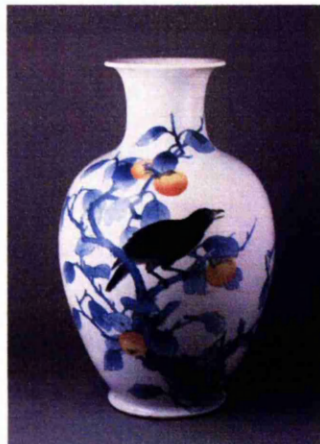


Figure 6-6 (right) Katō Tomotarō, Vase with a crow in persimmon branches, c.1890-1910. Signature (inside footring): Yūgyokuen Tōju sei 友玉園陶寿製 (made by Tōju of Yūgyokuen). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue, orange, yellow and black; H 52.2 cm, Foot Diam 16.6 cm. Tokyo National Museum.



Figure 6-7 (left) Chin Jukan XIII, Incense burner in the shape of insect cage, c. 1964. Stoneware with overglaze polychrome enamels and gold. Chin family collection.

Figure 6-8 (right) Chin Jukan XII, Vase with overglaze enamel and gold decoration of various flowers in medallions, c. 1893. Signature (inside footring): Satsuma Jukan sei 薩摩寿官製 (made by Jukan of Satsuma). Stoneware with polychrome overglaze enamels and gold; H 77.0 cm. Tokyo National Museum.

Figure 6-9 Tsuji Katsuzō, Pair of vases with chrysanthemums, 1875-79. Inscription on the bottom: Hizen Tsuji sei 肥前辻製 (made by Tsuji of Hizen). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue and overglaze polychrome enamels and gold; H 74.0 cm, Diam 25.5 cm. Private collection, Japan.





Figure 6-10 Left: Seifū Yohei III, *Seika kachō moyō kabin* 青華磁花鳥模様花瓶 (Blue-and-white vase with birds and flower), 1899. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造(made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with underglaze cobalt blue; H 61.2 cm, Diam 32.5 cm. The library of Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium. Right: Seifū Yohei III, Design for a vase, c. 1897. (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b, preface.)

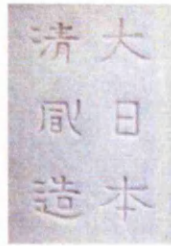
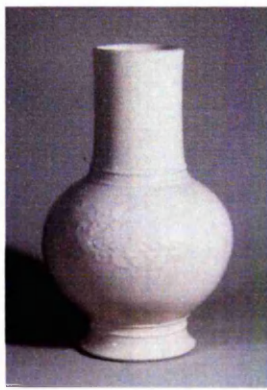


Figure 6-11 Left: Seifū Yohei III, *Kanpakuji chōkokuga kabin* 煥白磁彫刻画花瓶 (Vase with relief decoration), 1899. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造(made by Seifū of Great Japan). Porcelain with relief decoration and inglaze pink and yellow; H 59.1 cm, Diam 35.5 cm. Kunaichō yōdo-ka (the Supplies Department of the Imperial Household Agency). Right: Seifū Yohei III, Design for a vase, c. 1897. (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b, preface.)

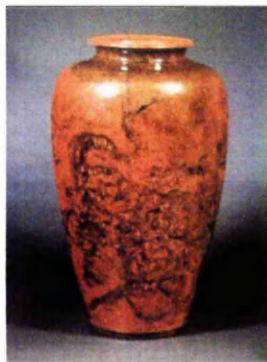


Figure 6-12 Seifū Yohei III, *Tenmoku-yū unryūhan kabin* 天目釉雲龍班花瓶 (Tenmoku vase with dragon in the clouds), 1899. Signature (inside footring): Dai Nihon Seifū zō 大日本清風造 (made by Seifū of Great Japan). Stoneware with tenmoku glaze; H 56.5 cm, Diam 33.2 cm. Naikaku-fu, Akasaka geihinkan (Imperial Guest House in Akasaka, Cabinet Office). Right: Seifū Yohei III, Design for a vase, c. 1897. (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897b, preface.)



Figure 6-13 Senshu no ma in the Meiji Palace, Photograph. San'nomaru Shōzōkan.

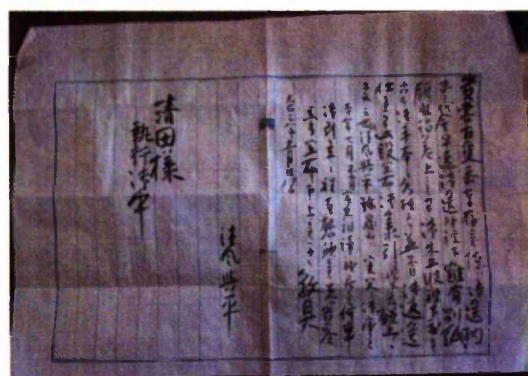


Figure 6-14 (left) Seifū Yohei III, Celadon water jar with peony, c. 1910. Inscription (inside footring): Seifū 清風 Porcelain with celadon glaze and relief decoration; H 17.5 cm, Diam 15.5 cm, Foot Diam 8.4 cm. Jim Heusinger Collection.

Figure 6-15 (right) Supplement letter for the water jar that Seifū Yohei IV authenticating the water jar was made by Seifū Yohei III.

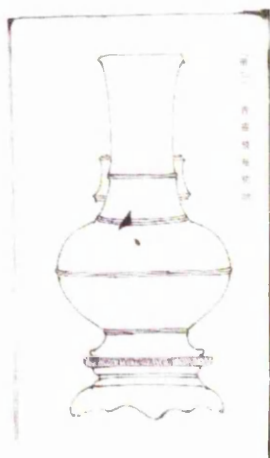


Figure 6-16 Seifū Yohei III, Design for Porcelain Vase with Celadon Glaze in *Tobiseiji* style, c. 1897. (Kyoto Bijutsu Kyōkai 1897 b, preface.)